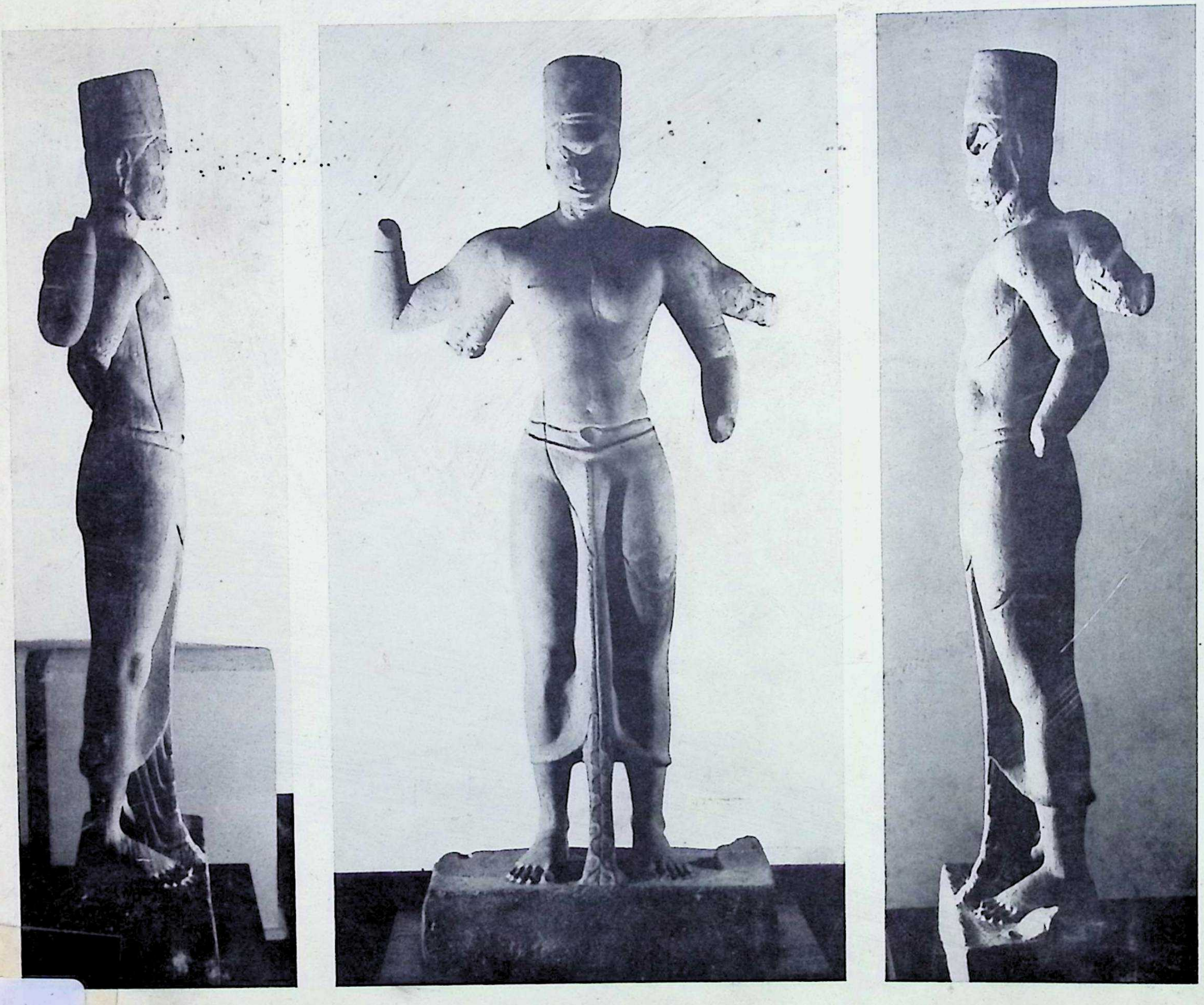
STANLEY J. O'CONNOR, JR.

HINDU GODS OF PENINSULAR SIAM



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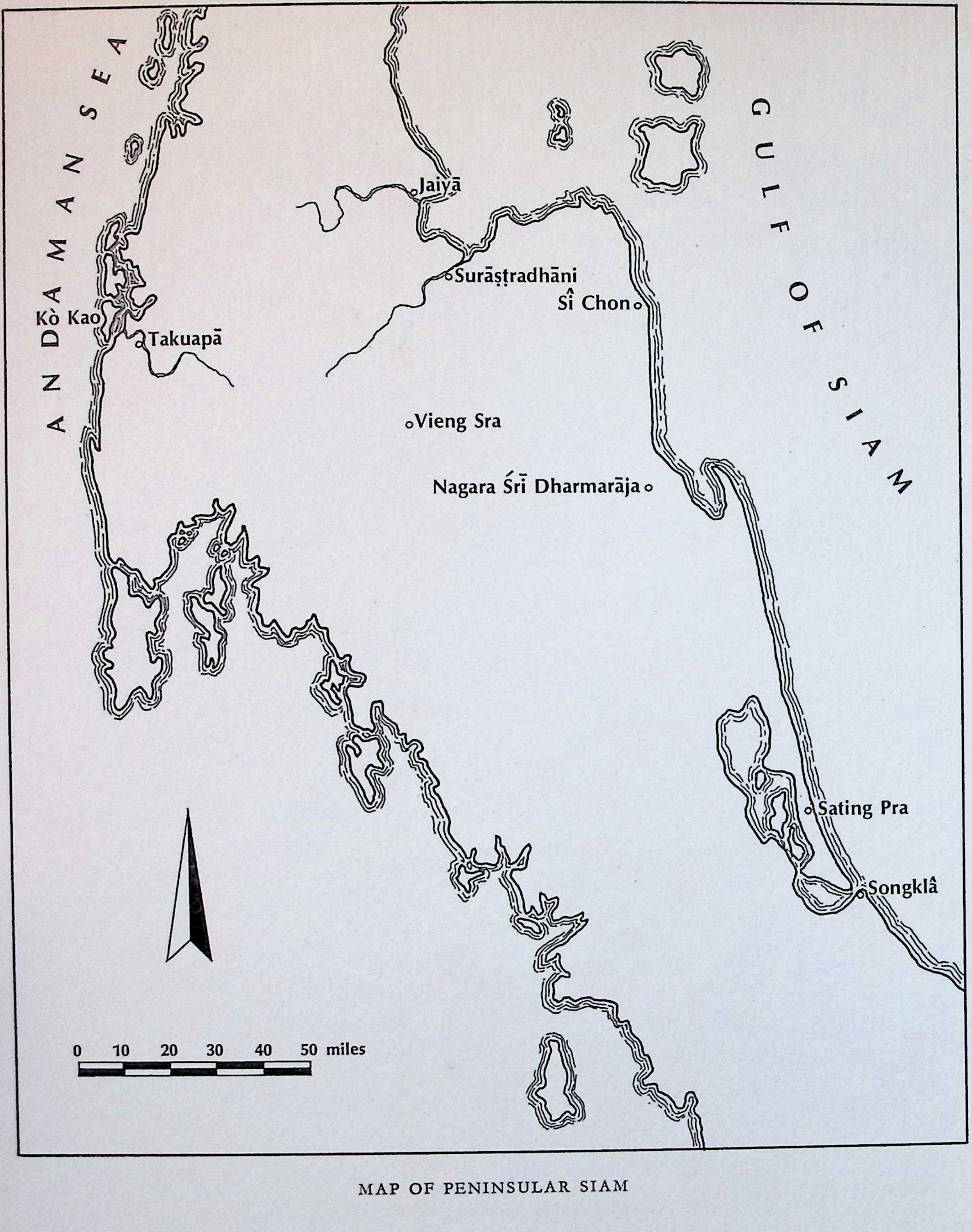
ANDAMAN SEA
GULF OF SIAM
Jaiyā
Surāṣṭradhāni
Sî Chon
Kò Kao
Takuapā
Vieng Sra
Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja
Sating Pra
Songklâ
0 10 20 30 40 50 miles

MAP OF PENINSULAR SIAM

ARTIBUS ASIAE

INSTITUTE OF FINE ARTS · NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

This book is about the ancient past of a compact and sea-flanked part of Southeast Asia. More precisely it is a view of the past as it can be recreated from a study of monumental statues of Hindu gods discovered in Peninsular Siam. In this group of shaped stones, I believe, there is an indistinct, but partly recoverable message, a record of lost kingdoms and city-states in a little-studied tract of earth which is dense with the débris of early civilization.

I first thought of trying to decipher this message during visits to Peninsular Siam in 1963–64, and I wrote my findings in a doctoral thesis for Cornell University in 1965. This book is a shortened version of the thesis, revised in the light of additional field work performed in 1966.

Readers who take the trouble to look at footnotes will be aware of my indebtedness to three specialists on Southeast Asia: the late Pierre Dupont, and Professors A. B. Griswold and Oliver W. Wolters. Without Dupont's studies of Pre-Angkorian and Isthmian sculpture the present work would have been impossible. Professor Griswold, whose studies are basic to our knowledge of Buddhist sculpture in Peninsular Siam, has contributed much time, encouragement and helpful criticism. Professor Wolters' studies of the maritime history of Southeast Asia are fundamental and formative in my conceptions of developments in Peninsular Siam. Finally, I should record my intellectual debt to my Cornell colleague, Professor Martie W. Young.

Ithaca, N.Y. *Stanley J. O'Connor, Jr.*
June 1971

CHAPTER I

A BRIDGE AND A BARRIER

Peninsular Thailand begins just south of 12° 50′ north latitude and extends in a crescent for about 600 miles to the present border of Malaysia. This is the narrow tract, the isthmus, that joins the Malayan Peninsula to the continental mass of Asia. In some places the land between the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Thailand is only 20 miles wide; and even at its greatest width the isthmus is only a mere 135 miles wide.[1] Down the spine of the Peninsula here mountains fold into a series of ranges that march generally north-south. Seen from the air, they are intensely green; the tropical rain forest spreads its thick moist canopy over the rock. The thin margins of the coast are punctuated by plains of alluvial soil washed down from the hills by rivers that strike longitudinally across the Peninsula. The plains of the east coast are broader than on the west and the coast line is much more regular.

Along portions of the west coast, jungle-clad hills come down to the water's edge where the tigers and wild pig of the forest hear the roar of the surf. But much of that coast is marked by mangrove formation. This is a mix of mud and salt water held in suspension by vegetable matter. Only a few specialized organisms can survive in these melancholy zones: chief among them are the mangrove trees *(rhizophara)* which stand on their stilt roots at the outermost margins of the swamp.[2] Behind them come the other bushes and trees of this strand community, of which the nipa palm is both characteristic and most useful in a variety of ways to coastal peoples.[3]

While the west coast is indented with bays, cut by mangrove swamps and studded with off-shore islands, the east coast has been smoothed and scoured by sea and wind. For much of the distance between the Bândòn Bight and Songklâ, the coastline is a dazzling, almost unbroken, beach. Bordering the beach there is a thin line of beach forest where the filmy casuarina trees bend in the wind. And further landward there are the diked padi fields that spread along the plains in the Songklâ-Pattalung region, on the strip of land between the Talé Sap lake and the sea, and along the extensive plains of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja (Nakhòn Sî Tammarât), Bândòn and Chumpòn.[4] Other clusters of padi fields spread up the valley floors some distance inland and smaller pockets of rice land are scattered along the west coast.

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[1] Robert L. Pendleton, *Thailand: Aspects of Landscape and Life* (New York: 1962), pp. 46–47.

[2] For a discussion of the major types of strand landscapes along the Malaysian coasts see David E. Sopher, *The Sea Nomads* (Memoirs of the National Museum, 5, 1965, Singapore), pp. 3–19.

[3] The many uses of the products of the swamp including nipa palm are discussed fully by Tom Harrisson in *The Malays of Southwest Sarawak Before Malaysia* (London: 1970), pp. 272–273.

[4] Pendleton, *Thailand ...*, p. 152. See also his *Soils and Land Use in Peninsular Siam*, Technical Bulletin no. 5, Department of Agriculture (Bangkok: 1949).

Life in this narrow portion of the earth is persistently genial, with enough fish, rice, fruit, water and a relatively unvarying climate.[5] These attractions were sufficient to induce men to settle in this region, and by the beginning of the Christian era several of the small estuary plains were, according to inferences drawn from Chinese records, the sites of developing city states. In the rise of civilization in the isthmian tract, two factors played an important role: mineral wealth, and a strategic location on the international sealanes joining China, India and the Persian Gulf in one great web of exchange.

When Ralph Fitch sailed in 1599 from Pegu to Malacca, he passed Tavoy Island "from whence cometh great store of tinne, which serveth all India."[6] Below Tavoy in the Mergui-Tenasserim area there are the remains of ancient tin-workings, several of them on a scale that suggests the activity of thousands of men.[7] These deposits are part of the band of tin that extends from Bangka and Billiton Islands up through the entire Peninsula. In the isthmian tract, tin is concentrated in the granitic ranges of the west coast which run from Ranòng to Pû Get (Phuket) Island and up the flanks of the Takuapā River. There is also an important granitic range on the eastern side of the isthmus with tin deposits occurring at Sî Chon which is just south of the Bight of Bandon. Other significant tin ore deposits are found near Songklâ and again at Pattānī.[8]

The lure of tin in ancient times was great, and although the date when tin-working began on the Peninsula is not known, one author has stated that already by the 5th century A.D. tin in Malaya was being mined and exported by Indians.[9] By the 9th century, the metal was known to the sailing masters and crews thronging Siraf and other bustling ports of the Persian Gulf.[10] There is good reason to believe that some of this tin was exported from one of the ports on the west coast of the isthmus. The fame of the rich deposits in the isthmian tract would probably have circulated about maritime Southeast Asia long before written records or before it came to the notice of the courts of India or the trading centers of the Persian Gulf. It is instructive to learn, for example, that tin ores were apparently being traded over the open sea from the Philippine Islands to the workshops of Fu-nan in the Mèkóng Delta by the 3rd century A.D.[11]

The other factor which appears to have favored the rise of complex economic and social units on the isthmus is its strategic location. A glance at a map of Asia will show that the Malay Peninsula lies astride the open sea lanes linking China with India, the Middle East and beyond. The Peninsula is an inescapable fact in the strategic calculation of China and of all the maritime kingdoms of Southeast Asia.[12] The isthmus offered the possibility of a trans-peninsular portage, a short cut that would save a thousand miles sailing through unpredictable waters where each river head and mangrove swamp was a potential sanctuary for pirate ships. Rivers striking longitudinally across the isthmus could be followed up to the low watershed and then, with a portage of a few miles by foot, goods could be loaded by river to the opposite coast. The Tenasserim valley has long served as a convenient transpeninsular route, and Maurice Collis, when he served as British resident at Mergui was able to find many traces of ancient objects, including Chinese pottery dating from the Sung dynasty and 150 bronze images, that were the residue of the brisk traffic along this passage.[13] At the Thailand-Burma border, where the isthmus reaches its narrowest point, interest in developing a canal system linking the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam has been a topic of interest in modern times.[14]

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[5] The daily life of a Malay community living in a coastal village in Pattānī Province has been fully published in Thomas M. Fraser, *Rusembilan: A Malay Fishing Village in Southern Thailand* (Ithaca: 1960).

[6] Ralph Fitch, "The Voyage of M. Ralph Fitch ... to Pegu, to Lamhay in the kingdome of Siam, and back to Pegu and from thence to Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin and all the coast of the East India," Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, 1599, vol. II, pp. 250–268, cited in H. L. Chhibber, *The Mineral Resources of Burma* (London, 1934), p. 181.

[7] Capt. G. B. Tremenheere, "Report on the Tin of the Province of Mergui," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 10 (1841), p. 845.

[8] Pendleton, *Thailand ...*, pp. 236–237.

[9] Wong Liu Ken, "The Malayan Tin Industry" in K. B. Tregonning (ed.), *Papers on Malayan History* (Singapore, 1962), p. 10.

[10] Arab literature on trade with the Peninsula Asia is summarized in G. R. Tibbetts, "The Malay Peninsula as known to the Arab Geographers," *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 9 (1956), pp. 21–60. See also A. Lamb, "A Visit to Siraf," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (JMBRAS), vol. XXXVII, 1 (1946), pp. 1–19.

[11] R. A. Stein, "Le Lin-yi," *Han-Hieu*, vol. 2 (1947), pp. 120–122.

[12] The character of diplomatic and commercial relations between China and maritime Southeast Asia is examined in O. W. Wolters, "China irredenta: the south," *World Today*, vol. 19, 12 (1963), pp. 540–552.

Perhaps the most frequently mentioned route leads from Takuapā on the west coast by river and portage across to the Bay of Bândòn. The discovery of many antiquities at both ends of this route suggests that this was an important trade route in ancient times.[15] Other possible routes follow out the Trang River linking Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja with the West coast at Kantan, and the well-known river passages from Kedah to Pattānī.[16]

The commercial importance of the isthmus was reinforced by the periodic alternation of the monsoon wind system which set the rhythm for sea movement in Asian waters prior to the advent of steam. From the ancient ports of India, such as Barygaza in Gujarat and the Gangetic port of Tāmralipti, from the ports in Andhradeśa such as Alosygni, and from the great trading emporium of Ceylon, Mahātiṭṭha, men set course for the Malay Peninsula and sailed eastard on the favorable winds of the southwest monsoon. Other ships, plying the *Nanhai* trade from southern China, reached the Peninsula on the northeast monsoon, and the pattern of trade set by the periodicity of the winds offered the possibility of developing relay stations in the web of east-west trade. Ships coming on the monsoon could off-load their cargoes and pick up luxury goods brought from distant lands, perhaps hauled by portage across the neck of the isthmus. Sailing vessels, waiting in sheltered harbors for the change in the wind systems before starting their return journey, needed victualing and refitting; warehouses were necessary for storage of goods to be transshipped. As Singapore is now, and Malacca was formerly, so earlier entrepôts sprang up along the Peninsula to facilitate a commerce that stretches into pre-history.

Because the sea is truly "trackless", because the wake of a vessel leaves no scar on the surface of the water, the early voyaging of the coastal peoples of Southeast Asia is little known to us. Intellectually we may recognize the seamanship involved in the spread of pottery types throughout the coasts of Southeast Asia and the islands of Oceania, or the shipment of Indonesian cinnamon to East Africa and thence to Rome in the time of Pliny.[17] We may follow the circulation of a common fund of material culture as it spreads by sea around the welcoming coasts of the South China Sea.[18] It is possible to read of the yearly voyages of Bugis vessels from Makassar to the tiny Aru Islands off the coast of New Guinea, and to relive that journey to *ultima Thule* with the great scientist Alfred Russel Wallace.[19] Even today one can see those same Bugis ships coming into Singapore roads. But it is difficult to seize in the imagination the implication of all this voyaging as it is reflected in the openness to the sea, the capacious horizons and the cosmopolitanism of the coastal peoples of ancient Southeast Asia.

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[13] Maurice Collis, *Into Hidden Burma* (London, 1953), pp. 218–233.

[14] F. G. Tremenheere, "Report of a visit to the Pakchan River and of some tin localities in the southern portion of the Tenasserim Provinces," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XII, 2 (1843), pp. 523–534, A. J. Loftus, *Notes on a Journey Across the Isthmus of Kra* (London, 1883). A. Kerr, "Notes on a trip from Prachuap (Kaw Lak) to Mergui," *Journal of Siam Society*, vol. XXVI, 2 (1933), pp. 203–214, and E. Hutchinson, "Journey of Mgr. Lambert, Bishop of Beritus, from Tenasserim to Siam in 1662," *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. XXVI, 2 (1933), pp. 215–218.

[15] F. H. Giles, "Remarks on Land Routes across the Malay Peninsula," *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. XXVIII, 1 (1935), and H. G. Q. Wales, "A newly explored route of ancient Indian cultural expansion," *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. IX, 1 (1935), pp. 1–35.

[16] There are several accounts of the Kedah-Pattānī journey: A. W. Hamilton, "The Old Kedah-Pattani Trade Route," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 86 (1922), pp. 386–392, and W. E. Maxwell, "A Journey on Foot to the Patani Frontier in 1876," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 9 (1882), pp. 1–67. See W. G. Solheim, "Pottery and the Malayo-Polynesians," *Current Anthropology*, vol. V, 5 (Dec. 1964).

In order to capture some perception, however dim and refracted, of the lived world of the peoples of the isthmian tract, it is essential to see it set in a stream of human movement by land and sea. Few areas in Southeast Asia are as impacted with the press of history.

Perhaps the first historical reference to the isthmus is to be found in a Chinese record of a mission which the Han emperor Wu Ti (141–87 B.C.) apparently sent to India, or at least some locality on the shore of the Bay of Bengal.[20] Rather than risking the sea passage through the Straits of Malacca, the mission crossed the narrow waist of the Peninsula. Whatever its diplomatic or strategic objectives were, it was also charged with a search for pearls, glass and rare stones which were obtained in exchange for gold and assorted silks. The Chinese wanted luxury goods from India and Rome, as well as the "strange and precious" objects of the teeming tropical rain forest. Camphor, rhinoceros horn, the diseased and fragrant gharu wood, aromatic laka wood and beeswax, all abundant on the isthmus, found a market in China.[21]

In response to the quickening impulses coursing along an extended network of international trade, certain favored villages on the Peninsula began to develop into city-states in the early centuries of the Christian era. With the growth of population centers, and shifts in the complexity of social roles and economic exchange, new legitimizing myths, legal norms and religious sanctions were accepted. Many of these new impacts on the intellectual life of the isthmus came from India as Southeast Asian rulers began to bring Indian scribes into their service.[22] Humble villages, little more than clusters of cultivators, fishermen and pirates, came to international, or at least Chinese, notice as kingdoms such as Tun Sun and Langkasuka.[23] The strategic role of these little states was of sufficient importance to early international commerce for Fu-nan, the earliest major maritime power in Southeast Asia, to find itself obliged to extend its hegemony over the isthmus in the 3rd century A.D.

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[17] The consequences of these Indonesian-East African contacts are reflected in language, boat-types, rice cultivation and music. See A.M. Jones, *Africa and Indonesia: the Evidence of the Xylophone* (Leiden, 1964). In a recent contribution to the problem, J. Innes Miller examines the botanical and textual evidence to demonstrate the existence of the cinnamon trade in Roman times: *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969).

[18] L. Malleret, *L'archéologie du delta du Mékong (ADM)*, vol. III, *La Culture du Fou-nan* (Paris, 1962), pp. 411–418.

[19] *The Malay Archipelago* (New York: 1962), pp. 308–375.

[20] The relevant passage is translated and analyzed in Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XXXI, 2 (1958), pp. 19–22.

[21] For a survey of commodities involved in the early maritime trade of Southeast Asia, see Paul Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on Some Commodities Involved in Sung Maritime Trade," *JMBRAS*, vol. XXXII, 2 (1959).

[22] This is, of course, the process of "Indianization" brilliantly discussed by J.C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague, 2nd ed., 1967), pp. 107–110. See also A. Christie, "The political use of imported religion, an historical example from Java," *Archives de sociologie des religions*, vol. 9, 17 (1964), pp. 53–62. For a study of this process of social change on the Malay Peninsula, see Paul Wheatley, "Desultory Remarks on the Ancient History of the Malay Peninsula," in J. Bastin and R. Roolvink (eds.), *Malayan and Indonesian Studies: Essays Presented to Sir Richard Winstedt* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 41–42.

Even after the fifth century when the textual evidence indicates that at least part, possibly the bulk, of international commerce between India and China no longer utilized the long portage but was directly sea-borne through the Straits of Malacca, the area retained some of its entrepôt functions and its importance as a supplier of tin and gharu wood. Certainly the small city-states of the area experienced a period of prosperity during the sixth and seventh centuries after Fu-nan's control had ended. This is clearly indicated by the brisk pace of tribute missions sent to China by states of the isthmus during the period.[24] Such missions, whatever else their function may have been, were a mechanism in facilitating commerce.[25]

With the consolidation of international trade attendant on the prosperity of a strong China under the T'ang dynasty, the isthmus became once again a focal area in the geo-politics of Southeast Asia. By the last quarter of the seventh century, the dominant maritime power of the period, the Sumatran-based empire of Śrīvijaya, had extended its control over the Hindu-Buddhist settlements strung out along the Merbok Estuary of Kedah. The Ligor inscription reveals that the northern reaches of the isthmus, probably as far north as the Bay of Bândòn, had passed under Śrīvijayan control by A.D. 775. The degree of Śrīvijayan control, the fluctuation of its power, and its cultural impact on the area are open questions; but Śrīvijaya has given its name to an art style which is associated with many objects found in isthmian sites.

The Indians had manifested a commercial interest in the area during Pallava times and before. An Indian mercantile company, the *Maṇigrāmaṃ*, was active at Takuapā, an early entrepôt located on the west coast of the isthmus above Pû Get, during the ninth century.[26] The successors to the Pallava, the Cōḷa, reacting against the restrictive trade policies and impositions of Śrīvijaya, raided the isthmian tract possibly in 1017 and also in 1025 and 1068.[27] Among the material evidence of the Cōḷa impact in the area are statues at Takuapā and Vieng Sra (written Viaṅ Sraḥ and pronounced Wieng Sa) in Cōḷa style, and an inscription at Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja.[28]

Burmese kings turned their attention to the isthmus as early as the reign of King Aniruddha in the mid-eleventh century.[29] And it was control over the commercial routes of the area that briefly embittered relations between Burma and Ceylon, leading to a war in 1165–66.[30] Indeed, this incident is merely a punctuation mark in the long continuum of contacts between the isthmian area and Ceylon. Professor A. B. Griswold has recently identified Buddha images found at Sungai Gólok, in the province of Nārādhivāsa near the Malayan border, and at Prāṇapurī province further north, as products of Ceylon dating to about the fifth century; and Ceylon cultivated especially close contacts, religious and political, with the isthmian state of Tāmbraliṅga during the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries.[31]

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[23] On the basis of the textual evidence, it is believed that Tun-sun was located in the northern reaches of the peninsula rather than on the isthmian tract. For an analysis of the problem, see Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur, 1961), pp. 15–21. It is believed that Langkasuka was located on the isthmian portion of the peninsula. See ibid., pp. 67 and 252–267.

[24] Gungwu, "Nanhai," Appendix A, pp. 118–123, lists the tribute missions from Southeast Asia to China up to the Sung dynasty.

[25] The character of diplomatic and commercial relations between China and Southeast Asia is examined in O. W. Wolters, "China irredenta: the south," *World Today*, 19, 12 (1963), pp. 540–552.

[26] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "Takuapā and its Tamil Inscription," *JMBRAS*, vol. XXII, 1 (1949), pp. 25–30.

[27] R. C. Majumdar, "The Overseas Expeditions of King Rājendra Cola," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXIV, Pts. 3/4, pp. 338–342.

[28] G. Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam, deuxième partie*, 2nd ed. (Bangkok), p. 38.

[29] G. H. Luce, "Some Old References to the South of Burma and Ceylon," in *Felicitation Volumes of Southeast-Asian Studies Presented to Prince Dhaninivat*, II (Bangkok, 1965), p. 270.

[30] Sirima Wickremasinghe, "Ceylon's Relations with Southeast Asia with Special Reference to Burma," *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, vol. III, 1 (1960), pp. 44–49.

In the rich mix of competing influences to which the isthmian tract was subject in ancient times, the Khmer empire played a prominent role. Fu-nan had left its impact on the area; even after its collapse, cultural exchanges appear to have persisted around the shores of the Gulf of Siam, involving the kingdoms of Chen-la and the city-states of the isthmus.[32] At the beginning of the eleventh century, a pretender to the throne of Angkor itself appears to have been a member of the ruling family of a kingdom at Ligor (Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja), an indication that the élite in the area moved easily in the cultural and political ambience of the Khmer world at that time.[33] Following his victory over Jayavīravarman, the latter now considered to be the usurper with the isthmian background, Sūryavarman I extended Khmer power over the Mènâm basin as attested by an inscription at Lopburî of 1022–25.[34] In the view of L. P. Briggs, Khmer power at this time extended as far as the isthmus.[35] Recent research on an inscription from Jaiyā on the Bay of Bândòn indicates that Khmer cultural influence was still strongly felt in the isthmus as late as the last three decades of the thirteenth century.[36]

It would be necessary to add to the flux of these contacts: the presence of Arab sailors from the Persian Gulf; the unrecorded flow of shipping in small craft from ancient ports of Burma, Sumatra and Java; and the passage of Buddhist monks en route from China to India to collect texts and to make pilgrimages to the sites in northeastern India made holy by association with the historical Buddha.[37]

This is merely to block out some of the major developments that marked the isthmus before the Thai imposed their control over the tract in the late 13th century. It should be possible to trace the shape of these events through the recovery and analysis of artifacts lost, strayed or buried in the red earth of the isthmus. As event piled on event, merging imperceptibly to form a past, so the great ash-heap of history, the material residue of action, should form in strata accessible to the archaeologist. Unfortunately, it is impossible to point to any systematic, well-published, archaeological excavation of an historical site on the isthmian tract.

Nearly all the sculptures of bronze or stone found on the isthmus are "floating" objects, random disgorgements of the past, most of them discovered by accident. They are without historical context in the sense of absolute calendar dates or the chain of documentary proof that links artisan, patron and object. There are no archives to consult, almost none of the sculptures themselves bear inscriptions, and those inscriptions that do exist on the Peninsula do not refer specifically to invidual works of art.[38]

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[31] "Imported Images and the Nature of Copying in the Art of Siam," in *Essays Offered to G. H. Luce* (Ascona, 1966), II, pp. 41–55; Senarat Paranavitana, *Ceylon and Malaysia* (Colombo, 1966), pp. 74–81.

[32] S. J. O'Connor, "Satiṅprah: An expanded Chronology," *JMBRAS*, XXXIX, 1 (July, 1966), pp. 137–144.

[33] See G. Cœdès, "Stèle de Pràsàt Bĕn (K. 989)," *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. VII (Paris, 1964), pp. 164–189.

[34] G. Cœdès, *Les Etats hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964), pp. 252–253.

[35] L. P. Briggs, "The Khmer Empire and the Malay Peninsula," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. IX, 3 (1950), p. 286.

[36] J. G. de Casparis, "The Date of the Grahi Buddha," *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. LV, 1 (1967), pp. 30–40.

[37] J. Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (Oxford, 1886); H. A. Giles, *The Travels of Fa-Hsien* (London, 1956); J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Peninsula* (A.D., 671–695) by I-Tsing (Oxford, 1896); B. Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translations of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* (Oxford, 1883).

If then these objects are undocumented they are equally unfixed in any archaeological context. Not one of them was uncovered as a result of controlled excavation. Not one of them was found in any direct association with a dated monument.

In the first sustained study of a group of isthmian sculptures, the late Pierre Dupont noted that the examples of sculpture on the isthmian tract displayed a great variety of styles and that each style was often represented by only one or two examples. Since most of them could be integrated, in his opinion, into known styles in India or Indonesia, he concluded that it could be assumed they were imported.[39] It is now possible to qualify Dupont's conclusion as the result of a study made by Professor A. B. Griswold on the problem of discriminating local copies of Buddhist sculpture in Southeast Asia from those images that have actually been imported to the area from India. He has demonstrated that the small Indianizing states in the Peninsula had developed workshops and that images were being made in the area before the 6th century that are sufficiently distinctive in the inflection of their dress and modelling for them to be distinguished from their Indian prototypes.[40]

His conclusions are important in two ways: first, because they indicate that art actually did have a history of its own on the isthmus, and this would accord well with the cultural level in the area as deduced from the textual references to city states presumably located in the area; and second, because the early date he ascribes to this artistic activity, some time before the 6th century, may give us an approximate date for the beginning for Buddhist art on the isthmus.

As a contribution to the emerging picture of cultural life on the isthmus, our study will focus on problems of style and dating for the Hindu sculptures found there. These are objects with a common religious purpose, occupying a spatially compact area. There are actually quite a few of them when they are all grouped together, and it is a virtual certainty that only a portion of the extant pieces are known to me. Many must be privately owned in the towns and villages of the isthmus, or kept in Buddhist monasteries there, or else, splashed with gold leaf, honored with candles and joss sticks in dimly lit caves high in the limestone buttes that rise like chimneys from the plains of the isthmus. But there is a significant number of Hindu sculptures available to us now, which, taken together, indicate that monumental stone sculpture must have been produced in abundance in the isthmus in ancient times, that an archaeological study of the material past of these coastal states would be rewarding, and that excavation would provide the beginning of some congruence between the literary record now available and the testimony of things.[41]

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[38] It is true that the inscription dated 775 A.D., found at Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, commemorates the foundation of three monuments; but typically, it offers little information useful for an understanding of the style, construction, or even the proximate location of the monuments. The inscription has been edited and translated by George Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, Part II (Bangkok, 2nd ed., n.d.), No. XXIII, p. 20.

[39] Pierre Dupont, "Variétés archéologiques, II: Le Buddha de Grahi et l'école de Chaiya," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* (BEFEO), vol. XLII (1942), pp. 105–113.

[40] A. B. Griswold, "Imported Images and the Nature of Copying in the Art of Siam," in *Essays Offered to G. H. Luce* (Ascona, 1966), II, p. 57.

[41] Chinese records provide the earliest and most reliable evidence for the development of the Malay Peninsula, and they are supplemented by early Western geographies and Indian literary allusions; later Arab sailing records too afford some precision on the information supplied by Chinese pilgrims, historians, commercial attachés and diplomats. There is also

a small corpus of epigraphy available; and amidst the fictions of local chronicles there are historical truths. As the study of these materials by historical geographers has been under way for at least a century, there is now available an almost staggering body of literature, of which one of the principal aims is to anchor the texts to the topographic reality of the Peninsula. Professor Paul Wheatley has recently brought some measure of order to the subject by collecting, collating and analyzing these materials together with the work of the commentators: *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur, 1961).

This body of material has recently been surveyed and correlated with commercial and pharmaceutical records in a magisterial study that has given economic substance to the study of early Southeast Asian history: O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce* (Ithaca, 1967).

CHAPTER II

CONCH SHELL ON HIP: THE 'ABERRANT' STATUES OF VIṢṆU

Three rather small stone images of Viṣṇu (figs. 1, 2, 3) found on the isthmus share certain singularities of dress and iconography that immediately set them apart from the other sculptures of the god found in that region. They all project a quality of bristling astringency.

While one of them is on display in the National Museum in Bangkok, the other two are propped up casually in the dim clutter of a treasure room at Wat Mahādhātu in the isthmian town of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. Only the first has received any written notice, and the date generally attributed to it appears to be several hundred years in error.

Viṣṇu from Jaiyā

Jaiyā is a large village in the northernmost reaches of the isthmian section of the Malay Peninsula. It is on the route of the Southern Railway, but the express train stops only briefly and the railway here is used mostly by farmers from neighboring villages bringing their produce to the small market at Jaiyā. Their arrival on the local train in the morning and departure before noon is a rhythmic flurry that punctuates the otherwise placid calm of the station-master's day. But though Jaiyā today is a quiet provincial town, there is an abundance of archaeological evidence to indicate that in the past it was an extensive, wealthy and cosmopolitan city.

The collections of the National Museum in Bangkok have been enriched by many bronze and stone statues found in and around the ancient structures still standing at Jaiyā. It was at Jaiyā, near the Monastery of the Great Relic (Mahādhātu), that Prince Damrong, the founder of Siamese archaeology, found the bronze bust of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara that is one of the great treasures of the museum and a leading representative of the "Art of Śrīvijaya".[1] There are works in stone that clearly predate this bronze by some centuries; and despite the vicissitudes of history, the erosion of the power of the Empire of Śrīvijaya and the coming of the Siamese in the 13th and 14th centuries, Jaiyā produced sculptures from the 15th to the 19th that reflect local preoccupations and traditions, managing to maintain a degree of artistic autonomy in the face of widespread acceptance of the canons of the National School of Ayudhyā.[2]

Jaiyā, because of the reputation of its antiquities, has been visited by a number of archaeologists during the past sixty years. For the most part, however, their visits were brief and, with the exception of several trial trenches made by J. Y. Claeys and Quaritch Wales, there have been no controlled excavations at Jaiyā.[3] Most of the monuments now standing have been recorded, and Claeys has published excellent plans of several. These buildings considered as a group are remarkable for their eclectic architecture. The monument of Wat Mahādhātu, despite some accretions dating from the period of Siamese occupation, has been relatively well preserved and the original character of the building is still readable. It is strikingly different from any Siamese monument, and it has been likened to constructions seen in bas-relief on the Borobodur in Java.[4]

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[1] George Cœdès, *Les collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok* (*Ars Asiatica*, vol. XII, Paris: 1928), plates XV–XVI.

[2] A. B. Griswold, oral communication.

Wat Keu (written Kèv and pronounced Gèo), although in ruins, has two fairly well preserved faces, the south and the north. It is obviously related to early Cham architecture, and further, according to Cœdès, its plan is analogous to that of Chandi Kalasan in Java, while in his opinion it also bears some resemblance to archaic pre-Angkorian architecture. He would not date any of the structures at Jaiyā prior to the eighth century.[5]

Dr. Quaritch Wales has envisioned Jaiyā as a center of diffusion for Indian culture, and in his view the architecture of Wat Keu reflects a primitive non-specialized Indian colonial architecture. In this sense it would be a survival of a common ancestral type from which the early Cham, Javanese, and pre-Angkorian architecture is derived.[6] He argues that, if the influence were actually coming to Jaiyā from Java, one would expect to find the typically Javanese *kāla-makara* arch and traces of Indo-Javanese architectural ornament. The force of Dr. Wales's argument is somewhat diminished, however, when, after acknowledging that the bronze Mahāyānā Buddhist sculptures found at Jaiyā and elsewhere on the Peninsula are significantly different from their alleged Pāla prototypes from the famous monastery complex at Nālandā in Bengal, he himself argues that the lack of a number of specialized Pāla features is not sufficient evidence to deny the primary role of Pāla influence in shaping this aspect of Hindu-Javanese art.[7]

The vestiges of ancient monuments, which are apparent to the most casual observer, bear testimony to the importance of Jaiyā as a center of Indianized settlement in early times;[8] though whether or not it played a prominent role in the diffusion of Indian culture is not, at this point, a particularly fruitful question when our knowledge of the site remains so meagre. At least it is encouraging to note that there is a very active body of local scholars who have taken an intensive interest in the history of the area. Several of them have published material on aspects of Jaiyā's past which is of special interest because it contains references to local traditions.[9]

One of the Brahmanical images found at Jaiyā is a standing figure carved in a greyish limestone (fig. 1). It is now in the National Museum in Bangkok, and according to the museum label, its provenance is Wat Sâlâ Tung at Jaiyā. It is a four-armed figure of Viṣṇu in *sthānaka-mūrti*, 27 inches in height. The posterior left arm is missing, the anterior left hand holds a conch-shell *(śaṅkha)* on the hip, the posterior right hand holds a heavy club *(gadā)*, and the anterior right hand appears to be in *abhayamudrā*. As the statue represents Viṣṇu, the attribute in the missing hand must have been either the lotus *(padma)*, the round symbol of the earth *(bhū)*, or the discus *(cakra)*.

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[3] J.Y.Claeys, "L'archéologie du Siam," *BEFEO*, vol. XXXI (1931), pp. 386–387. H.G.Quaritch Wales, "A Newly Explored Route of Indian Cultural Expansion," *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. IX, no. 1, pp. 19–22.

[4] H.Parmentier, "Origine commune des architectures hindoues dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient," *Etudes Asiatiques*, vol. II, p. 210.

[5] George Cœdès, "A propos d'une nouvelle théorie sur le site de Śrīvijaya," *JMBRAS*, vol. XIV, Pt. III, Dec., 1963.

[6] *JAL*, vol. X, no. 1, p. 26; and, *The Making of Greater India* (2d ed. rev.; London: 1961), pp. 50–51.

[7] Wales, *Making of Greater India*, pp. 54–55. See also A. J. Bernet Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art* (Amsterdam: 1933).

[8] Erik Seidenfaden, "Recent Archaeological Researches in Siam," *JSS*, vol. III, Pt. II (April 1938), pp. 241–247.

[9] Braḥ Garū Indapaññācāriya, *A Brief Account of the Antiquities Surrounding the Bay of Bândòn* (Jaiyā: 1950; in Thai). Dhammadasa Bānij, *A History of Buddhism in Jaiyā and the Bay of Bandon Region* (Jaiyā: 1961; in Thai and English).

The figure wears a tall mitre, decorated in bas-relief with an elaborate pattern of leaf and vine, with rosettes at the corners. The face is round and relatively small; the almond-shaped eyes are sharply incised, flat and without any interior definition of pupil or structure. They are extremely long and spread to the outer limit of the face. The ears are constructed in a remarkable fashion, presented in frontal view, and joined to the mitre to secure them against fracture. In addition the sculptor has greatly exaggerated their size, apparently in order to include the interior detail of the ear. From these large ears, and in the same charged scale, hang heavy rectangular ear-rings *(kuṇḍala)*.

The torso is nude except for a flat torque, with an ornament of opposed S-shaped elements at the center. This takes on a configuration reminiscent of the *śrīvatsa* mark, a symbol of beauty and fortune often associated with Viṣṇu. In addition to the torque, the image wears simple armlets and bracelets.

The costume is a *dhoti*, a large rectangle of untailored cloth which can be draped in so many different ways that it is difficult to analyze this particular disposition with certainty. The same is true of the *kamarband* or waist-sash which holds the *dhoti* in place, and the broad sash which is looped through it. As well as we can make out, the pattern of circles and ellipses at the waist is the decorated upper edge of the *dhoti;* the lower edge encircles the legs between knees and ankles; and the heavy vertical fold of cloth that falls down in front between the legs is a pleated lateral edge of the *dhoti* (the other lateral edge is either combined with it, or more likely should be understood as forming a similar vertical fold in the rear). The more or less horizontal creases or pleats in the *dhoti* across the legs are rendered by means of incised lines. A narrow sash or *kamarband* encircles the waist twice; and as its two ends can be seen hanging down over the left thigh for a short distance we assume that it is distinct from the broad sash which is held in place by it. This broad sash appears to begin at the base of the statue near the left foot; though it is now broken, it evidently rose from there to the left hip, where it bulges out before passing under (?) the *kamarband;* then it falls in a semicircular arc in front of the thighs, passes under the *kamarband* at the right hip, re-emerges to form a puffed-out loop at the right hip, continues (across the back?) to the left hip, where it may have been tucked under the *kamarband*, and then presumably descended again to the base of the statue in the same mass of cloth in which it began.

This mass of cloth formed one of the three supports of the statue. On the right side the now broken club *(gadā)* filled the same function. The third support is the main block of stone in which the legs and the heavy vertical fold of the *dhoti* between them are carved.

Viṣṇu at Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja

Roughly sixty miles southeast of Jaiyā is the coastal city of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. It is located some five miles inland from the sea, although its location in an area in which the beaches are building up would suggest that it was a good deal closer to the sea several thousand years ago.[10]

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[10] Major P.D.R. Williams-Hunt, "An Introduction to the Study of Archaeology from the Air," *Journal of the Siam Society* (JSS), vol. XXXVII, pt. 2 (June 1949), p. 108, pl. 9.

From the town, the horizon to the west is closed by high wooded mountains which protect the coastal plain from the force of the southwest monsoon. According to Claeys,[11] one of the summits reaches a height of almost 6,000 feet. It is altogether a pleasant situation for a town and there is a fairly extensive area of plain available for the cultivation of rice.

The town is laid out on a north-south axis. What appears to be the oldest part of the city lies within a walled enclosure. Situated along a road which runs down the middle of this enclosed section of the town are a great many religious structures, many of them in ruins. During his visit to Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, Lajonquière estimated that there were fifty monasteries in the town, most of them at that time in ruins.[12] It is not surprising that there are many religious edifices to be seen in Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. It was a leading center of Theravāda Buddhism from which, as we deduce from Râm Kamhèng's inscription of 1292,[13] the Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya received its initial indirect contacts with the fountainhead of the Theravāda, Ceylon. Prince Damrong speculates that monks from Ceylon made an appearance in Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja some twenty years before the date of Râm Kamhèng's inscription, and that subsequently some Siamese monks went to Ceylon for ordination. Upon their return, they set up headquarters in Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja and, with the help of Sinhalese monks already resident there, undertook the architectural modification of the old monument of the Great Relic to a Ceylonese style.[14] This is the famous Wat Mahādhātu.

There is some other evidence, though rather tenuous, which suggests that Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja may have had connections with the southern Indian Buddhist center of Negapatam as well as Ceylon. The Pāli Buddhist literature of Ceylon offers some references to the monastery complex at Negapatam and to the state of religion in south India. One of the religious reformers of south India, a monk named Buddhappiya, was either a native of Tambarattha (Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja) or had spent some time there. This information is contained in an inscription found at Polonnāruva, which may date from the first half of the twelfth century.[15]

It would not be surprising for Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja to have links with Negapatam, which was one of the last Buddhist centers surviving in India. Since the earliest times Negapatam had been one of the chief Indian ports for trade with China. The Śrīvijayan empire, of which Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja was a part at least by 775 and with which it retained contact until the beginning of the eleventh century,[16] was a leading supporter in the effort to maintain a Buddhist presence in south India. Śrīvijayan monks, sponsored by the Śailendra kings and patronized by early Cōḷa monarchs, built at least two temples there at the beginning of the eleventh century.[17]

The largest and most imposing monastery in Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja is Wat Mahādhātu, a walled complex located within the city walls. Its chief architectural feature is a large bell-shaped

[11] *BEFEO*, vol. XXXI, no. 3–4, p. 373.

[12] *BCAIC* (1912), p. 148.

[13] Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions*, vol. I, Inscription I, pp. 37–48.

[14] Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, *A History of Buddhist Monuments in Siam*, trans. S. Sivaraksa (Bangkok: 1962), p. 6; and A. B. Griswold, "Siam and the 'Sinhalese' Stupa," *Buddhist Annual* (Inaugural issue, Colombo, 1964), pp. 76–77. Griswold gives reasons for dating the remodeling around the first quarter of the 13th century.

[15] S. Paranavitana, "Negapatam and Theravāda Buddhism in South India," *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. XI, no. 1 (1944), pp. 17–25.

[16] For the political history of the period see O. W. Wolters, "Tāmbraliṅga," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. XXI, pt. 3 (1958), pp. 587–607.

[17] T. N. Ramachandran, "The Nāgapaṭṭiṇam and Other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum," *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, vol. VII, no. 1 (1954), p. 13.

stupa, which is surrounded by 160 smaller stupas.[18] It was apparently this large stupa that the Siamese monks and their Sinhalese companions built in the thirteenth century encasing an older monument. The custom of enclosing older monuments in a series of reconstructions was practiced by the Mòns and continued by the Thai. When undertaking the alteration of an earlier structure, they often constructed a replica of it on a reduced scale nearby. Examples of this can be found, according to Claeys,[19] at Bejrapurī, Nagara Paṭhama and Chieng Mai. Being aware of this practice, Claeys was interested in a small masonry structure standing in the courtyard of Wat Mahādhātu, which in no way resembled any of the other stupas in the area. He made very careful drawings of its elevation and plan, and concluded that it resembles the Mahāyāna Buddhist monument Chandi Kalasan of central Java, and the Cham towers at Dông Düöng and Mi-Sön.[20]

In several other structures in Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja both Claeys and Quaritch Wales detected vestiges of "Indo-Javanese" architectural styles.[21] There are three small Brahmanical sanctuaries which are rather lost in the midst of this proliferation of Buddhist monuments. One is of modern construction. The second, a Śiva Temple, is a ruined brick structure sheltered by a wooden shed.[22] Quaritch Wales considered it to be "Indo-Javanese" in style, and saw the same affinities in another small ruined Śiva sanctuary nearby where he was able to cut several trial trenches. He found two distinct brick floors under the Śiva structure, on the lower of which he found a reliquary containing a coin dating from one of the earlier reigns of the Ayudhyā kingdom. Below this were many potsherds of Sung type. He concluded that the site did not date from a period earlier then the 10th or 11th century, and was probably a good deal later.[23]

Beyond the southern end of the present town there are the ruined walls of an old city. This town which is oriented on the same north-south axis as the present town, is probably a much earlier settlement then the present Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, and it may be the source of some of the very ancient objects to be seen in Wat Mahādhātu.

There is one piece of evidence overlooked by Wales and Claeys that may prove of some value in assessing the antiquity of Brahmanical practice in Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. In his report on the Śiva temples, Lajonquière mentions five *liṅgas*, four of which he says were designed in three sections, with a square base, an octagonal middle portion, and a rounded upper portion with a ridge in the middle representing the frenum. During a visit to Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja I had an opportunity to study some of these *liṅgas* and confirm the description given by Lajonquière. One of them is especially interesting (fig. 5).

There are obviously pitfalls in any effort to draw chronological conclusions from such a highly conventionalized and simple form as the *liṅga*. This is especially true in an area such as the Malay Peninsula where there are not a great number of *liṅgas* available for study. Any effort to set up typologies on the Peninsula would be unrealistic, but it is possible to draw some conclusions from recent work on this problem in connection with the excavations at Oc-Eo,[25] and the development of styles in the sculpture of Champa.[26] The *liṅga* plays an important role in both Champa and the successive political entities on Cambodian soil from the time of Fu-nan. It is mentioned in many inscriptions, but there is no obvious correlation between extant *liṅgas* and ancient inscriptions. In his pioneer study of pre-Angkorian art, Henri Parmentier found a number of *liṅgas* that appeared to be rather naturalistic in conception, which he was inclined to consider earlier in date than the more conventionalized representations.[27] His opinion has been given added force by the discovery in the Transbassac area of a number of *liṅgas* that are distinguished by their greater realism. Their frequency in the territory of the lower Mèkóng, the area considered to be the center of the political community of Fu-nan, has argued in favor of viewing the more realistic representations as earliest in time. Professor Malleret would date the most realistic *liṅgas* from the Transbassac area from the end of the 5th to the beginning of the 6th century.[28]

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[18] For plan and elevation see: *BCAIC* (1912), p. 149.

[19] *BEFEO*, vol. XXXI, p. 374.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 377.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 374; and, *IAL*, vol. IX, no. 1, p. 23.

[22] *IAL*, vol. IX, no. 1, plate VII.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[24] *BCAIC* (1912), p. 160, and sketch in fig. 37, p. 159.

The criteria for greater or less realism depend on the treatment of the upper cylindrical or hemispherical portion of the *liṅga (Rudrabhāga)*, and its relative size in relation to the middle octagonal section *(Viṣṇubhāga)*, and the base *(Brahmabhāga)*, which is a cube. Among the most realistic and presumably earliest *liṅgas* in the Transbassac region, there is an unequal emphasis in the parts, or a total suppression of one of the lower parts, and an exaggeration of the *Rudrabhāga*.[29] There is, too, a tendency towards anatomical fidelity in rendering. On the other hand, those *liṅgas* that are divided into three well-defined units of approximately equal length, and in which there has been an attenuation of the relative realism of the preceding series, are classified by Malleret as "conventional emblems."[30]

Within this last series, a *liṅga* with a face *(mukhaliṅga)* found at Oc-Eo is considered to be the oldest.[31] Its realism consists of the swelling ovoid form of its top section, the strongly marked gland, and the disproportion between the size of the top section and that of the octagonal and square sections. The measurements of the three sections beginning with the base are: 21 cm., 21 cm., and 23 cm. It would thus appear that this emblem would fit with ease into the late Fu-nan or early pre-Angkorian chronology, though of course without sufficient evidence for any firm date.

The Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja *liṅga* exhibits the same pronounced ovoid swelling of the top section, and the same raised marking of the contours of the gland and the frenum. It also exhibits a disparity between the relative size of the three sections. It is not possible to draw any very definite conclusions from these similarities, but they suggest an early date, and point to contact between the Oc-Eo area and Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, or at least to a common artistic and iconographic tradition from which both drew their models.

Despite the rather disappointing evidence provided by Dr. Wales's excavations at the site of the abandoned Śiva temple, it would appear, on the basis of the *liṅga* still to be seen in Nagara

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[25] Malleret, *L'archéologie du delta du Mékong* (ADM), vol.I, pp.377–388.

[26] Boisselier, *La statuaire du Champa*, pp.410–415.

[27] Henri Parmentier, *L'art khmer primitif* (Paris: 1927), pp.311–312.

[28] *ADM*, vol.I, pp.379–380.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp.380–382; nos.102–106.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp.382–385; nos.107–115.

[31] *Ibid.*, p.383, no.107, plate LXXXI.

Śrī Dharmarāja, that Brahmanical practice there may date from at least as early as the sixth or seventh century. The question obviously cannot be settled by the rough dating of an object like a *liṅga*. Indeed, there is no reason to assume that the *liṅga* was not moved to its present location from an area outside the walls of the present city. This serves to underscore the very meagre knowledge that we possess of what is very likely one of the most promising areas for archaeological survey and excavation on the Malay Peninsula.

Within the precinct of Wat Mahādhātu at Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja there is a most interesting museum. Among the objects on display in it are two stone sculptures (figs. 2 and 3) that bear a very close resemblance in style and iconography to the Jaiyā Viṣṇu (fig. 1). These images have received almost no attention from visitors to the sites of early Indianized settlement on the Peninsula.

Both images have small round faces with button-like eyes; both are four-armed figures with the posterior arms missing. In the remaining left hand of each is a conch shell held against the hip. The remaining right hand of fig. 2, which has the palm up and the fingers extended at hip-level, must have held either the lotus or a symbol of the earth.

Both images wear high mitres, which are similar in shape and decorated with patterns of leaf and vine; both wear heavy earrings which were originally attached to the shoulders as well as the earlobes. Apart from the earrings the only jewelry is an armlet on fig. 3. The chest is nude.

The upper edge of the *dhoti*, seen at the waist, is unornamented. As in fig. 1, the lower edge encircles the legs below the knees and the heavy vertical fold of cloth falling between the legs is made up of the lateral edge or edges of the *dhoti*. The diagonal folds or creases along the legs are rendered by incised lines. In fig. 2 the *kamarband* passes once around the waist, its two tasseled ends can be seen near the left hip, and the vertical fold of the *dhoti* emerges from under it. In fig. 3 the *kamarband*, which is twisted, passes twice around the waist; its ends are invisible; and the vertical fold of cloth seems to start at the upper edge of the *dhoti* and pass in front of both rounds of the *kamarband*, as if the lateral edge or edges of the *dhoti* were pulled up and a portion tucked in behind the *kamarband*. Both images wear a sash falling in an arc in front of the thighs, knotted or looped at the left and right, and forming a tight spiral at the left; in fig. 3 it is uncertain whether or not this sash is distinct from the *kamarband*, as the ends of the latter are not visible.

If we compare the Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja sculptures with the Jaiyā image (fig. 1), their relationship in terms of technique, dress, and iconography is immediately apparent. Most striking is the fact that all three wear the same sort of high, decorated mitre. True, the figures from Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja have taller mitres, which, unlike that worn by the Jaiyā image, have inclined sides. But the differences are only relative and the similarities between the two are manifest. Again, all three images have earrings that rest on the shoulders, rendered on an almost oppressively heavy scale. All three images are nude to the waist, and all wear a similar long *dhoti*, marked with incised lines, and with a heavy vertical fold. All three have a similar, if not identical, system of sashes.

All three images are totally frontal. Each is designed to be seen in a controlled experience, probably as the occupant of a niche in an architectural program. Their overriding characteristic is their flat, two-dimensional presentation. The surface of the stone pier is unmodified except for the superficial attachment of linear patterns of dress and adornment. All three images have a harsh, broken outline which is in tense opposition to the rigidity and static immobility of the vertical axis. These unresolved tensions would be even greater if the images had retained their upper arms.

Despite minor iconographical differences, the three images share a common scheme: they all present Viṣṇu in terms of a system of agreed formal conventions. They are not only similar in type but also similar in style, in the handling of the surface planes and in the harsh angular rhythm of the contours, while at another level they could be said to share a community of expressive content.

At every level then, the relationship between the images seems evident. There are, however, enough differences to indicate that these statues of Viṣṇu were produced either in different workshops or at different times when the schema had undergone some slight alteration.

Present Dating

The Jaiyā Viṣṇu has aroused some interest because of its unusual characteristics, such as the form of its mitre and its unusual iconography with the conch held in the left hand on the hip; but it has been discussed only in relation to some other problem, and never as the primary object of study. When Cœdès published it in 1928, he noted that it was one of a group from Jaiyā and Vieng Sra that were close to Indian prototypes, but without specifying which prototypes he had in mind.[32]

Reginald le May notes its "rather clumsy make", and the "peculiar heaviness" of the ears and headdress.[33] It stimulated only a passing comment from the Indian historian, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, who described it as "stiff and inelegant [...] a product of late art, valuable as showing the persistence of Indian influences to a late period."[34] Pierre Dupont found a relationship between it and the extremely crude Viṣṇu found at Tuol Koh in Cambodia, which occupied a somewhat marginal position in his scheme of pre-Angkorian art. Regarding the Tuol Koh Viṣṇu, Dupont writes: "On peut d'ailleurs se demander d'abord s'il s'agit d'une production d'un archaïsme exceptionnel ou au contraire d'une imitation faite par des artistes maladroits. Un des axiomes de l'archéologie du Sud-Est asiatique est que les statues les plus proches de la tradition indienne dans ce qu'elle a de classique sont aussi les plus anciennes. C'est le cas notamment des statues du Phnom Da. L'archaïsme se traduit donc par la plus grande perfection des formes. Ceci constitue une première présomption défavorable à la haute ancienneté du Viṣṇu de Tuol Koh, mais d'autres s'excercent dans le même sens. Elles tiennent au fait que nombre des particularités propres à cette image s'expliquent seulement par l'altération de détails déjà relevés sur les autres Viṣṇu à vêtement long ... [La statue] est extraordinairement plate et évoque davantage une dalle de schiste découpée qu'une véritable ronde-bosse." Dupont then goes on to compare this statue with the Viṣṇu of Jaiyā (our fig. 1), and concludes: "Ces comparaisons ont pour conséquence de montrer que le Viṣṇu de Tuol Koh n'est pas une statue particulièrement archaïque mais une production assez fruste dérivant d'images locales. Son anatomie est d'ailleurs singulière ... Elle suppose un art autochtone dont le Viṣṇu de Chaiya [our fig. 1] et

[32] Cœdès, *Les collections archéologiques ...*, plate X and p. 25.
[33] Le May, *The Culture ...*, p. 80.
[34] *South Indian Influences in the Far East* (Bombay: 1949), p. 92.

quelques autres statues inédites, originaires de Malaisie centrale, constituent également des spécimens. Cet art est caractérisé par la reproduction, singulièrement déformée, d'apports indiens qui peuvent être reconstitués mais ne sont pas tous de même époque. Le centre de cette production reste à determiner, mais il semble extérieur au Tchen-la."[35]

Some of Dupont's views were questioned by the English art historian P.S.Rawson in 1957.[36] Rawson considered that some of the long-robed Viṣṇu images, such as our fig. 1, were older than Dupont thought, and he believed that this group of images had affinities with the pre-Gupta art of the Kuṣāṇas. These views were contested by Professor Boisselier, who stated that the iconography of Viṣṇu with the conch shell on the hip, as represented by the Jaiyā Viṣṇu and several pre-Angkorian images, was unknown in India until the eighth century.

In a long and wide-ranging article addressed to problems posed by the discovery of an early Viṣṇu image at Tjibuaja in west Java, Boisselier expanded these views.[38] He placed the Jaiyā Viṣṇu in the context of a group of images of diverse iconography, religious intention and geographic provenance – from Bali, Java, Cambodia, Annam, Thailand and the isthmian section of the Malay Peninsula. He saw these images as sharing a mixed stylistic character, the result of southern Indian influences of the 7th and 8th centuries combined with earlier local traditions. The Viṣṇu of Jaiyā, according to Boisselier, is the work of a mediocre artisan whose technique is a regression from earlier work on the Peninsula.[39]

Inscriptions from Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja

In attempting to assess the antiquity of Hindu practice in Peninsular Siam the testimony of epigraphy is of interest. Inscriptions from Jaiyā are not of much assistance because (with the possible exception of the Ligor inscription which is of contested provenance) none of them are earlier than the 12th century. The situation at Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja is quite different. A line of inscription on the stairway near the door to the small museum at Wat Mahādhātu is of interest because of the archaism of its characters, which Cœdès dated to the 5th or 6th century.[40] The same museum possesses an illegible inscription of eight lines, a Tamil inscription probably dating to Cōḷa times, and an inscribed granite slab which is not included in the collection of inscriptions edited by Professor Cœdès, but which was photographed by Professor Lamb when he visited Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja.[41] On the basis of the photograph, Dr. de Casparis is inclined to read a reference to Śiva, and to date the writing to the 6th century or earlier.[42] This would tend to confirm the existence of Hindu worship at Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja at an early period.

Our examination has been confined to material evidence actually found on the isthmus. The record is meagre, and in a sense it may be misleading. Parallel testimony from Chinese texts indicates that Brahmins from India were a rather common sight on the isthmus by the third century A.D., so it would of course follow that Hindu cult practice was a feature of life, at least for an élite, at that time. The difficulty is that the Chinese records are not securely anchored in the topographic reality of the isthmian earth. *Tun-sun*, according to Chinese reports which can ultimately be traced to the third century A.D., was an important trading center and the home of more than 1,000 Brahmans. Unfortunately it has not yet proved possible to find sufficient precision in the Chinese text to link the name firmly to any narrowly circumscribed portion of the Peninsula. Although most scholars agree that the geographical indications in the text all point to the peninsula, various locations have been proposed.[43] It is clear too from Chinese texts that in the third century there were Brahmins at *P'an-p'an*, another small state almost certainly located on the isthmus. But until the archaeological context is much richer, it would be rash to attempt to link up any of the isthmian sculptures with specific place-names mentioned in Chinese texts.

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[35] *La statuaire préangkorienne* (Ascona, Switzerland: 1955), pp. 133–135.

[36] P.S.Rawson, Review of *La statuaire préangkorienne*, by Pierre Dupont, *Oriental Art*, Spring (1957).

[37] "La statuaire préangkorienne et Pierre Dupont," *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. VI (1959, pt. 1), p. 67.

[38] "Le Viṣṇu de Tjibuaja (Java Occidental) et la statuaire du Sud-Est asiatique," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXII (1959), pp. 210–226.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

[40] Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions* ..., part. II, no. XXVIII, p. 39.

[41] Lamb, "Miscellaneous Papers," *FMJ*, vol. VI (1961), plate 117.

[42] *Ibid.*

Viṣṇu from Oc-Eo

Directly related to the three isthmian Viṣṇu images with the conch shell on the hip (figs. 1, 2, 3) is a statue from Oc-Eo in the Mèkóng Delta. Here, between the 1st and the 6th centuries A.D., was the port city of Fu-nan. Excavations and aerial photography have revealed a web of complex canals that served to drain the water-logged soil of the delta and created an early Asian parallel to Venice.

It is not surprising that objects found on the isthmus should resemble one from Oc-Eo, since Fu-nan had a powerful political impact on the neighboring kingdoms. The *Liang-shu*, the Annals of the Liang Dynasty in China, contains material collected in Fu-nan by the third-century Chinese envoys, K'ang T'ai and Chu-Ying. From this and other records of the period, it is known that the Malay Peninsula, or several of the kingdoms on the Peninsula, were under the hegemony of Fu-nan.[44]

The Transbassac site of Oc-Eo has yielded only four statues. The first, a wooden statue of the Buddha, has been lost. The second, a small figure of Ganeśa, is probably not earlier than the second half of the 7th century. The third is a stone torso of a god which is remarkable for the relative naturalism of its forms and the subtle transitions of its surface planes; Malleret was undecided about its date, though he considered it to be an early work; but its incised *sampot* shows no parallel with the already established Funanese stylistic group of Phnom Da. The fourth image is a Viṣṇu with a conch shell at the left hip (fig. 4), which Malleret believed might date from the first half of the 6th century.[45]

Despite its evidence of commercial success and cosmopolitan contacts, as exhibited in the many small items of personal adornment found at Oc-Eo, no stone statues that can be dated with assurance to the early period of Funanese prosperity have been found there. It is not until almost the end of the Fu-nan empire that stone statuary appears, and then it is found not in the maritime site of Fu-nan, but rather at the upland site of Angkor Borei in southeastern Cambodia. The earliest statuary found in this latter region appears to date from the reign of King Rudravarman (514 until after 539 A.D.).[46] Pierre Dupont has established a chronology for this late Fu-nan sculpture from its beginnings around 514 until its termination at the end of the sixth century. This is the group of images known as "Phnom Da styles A and B". As there are no statues in the Oc-Eo region that can be fitted into the Phnom Da style, it now appears that the problems of stone sculpture were not attempted by the Funanese until after changes in the course of the Bassac River, or pressure from Chen-la, had forced the re-location of the major centers of population on to higher ground where stone was readily available.

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[43] Wheatley, *Golden Khersonese ...*, pp. 14–22.

[44] The standard compilation of those Chinese materials relating to Fu-nan is: Paul Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan," *BEFEO*, vol. III 3 (1903), pp. 248–327.

[45] *ADM*, vol. I, p. 363.

The stone statuary of the Transbassac region, when it does appear after the triumph of Chen-la, is marked by two characteristics. It is almost always quite small, and most often it is assembled and joined rather than carved from a single block of stone. Both of these features are probably related to the scarcity of stone in the delta region.

The Viṣṇu with the conch on the hip (fig. 4) displays both these characteristics, which helps confirm its provenance, for the image was not excavated by Malleret but sold to him in 1945 by inhabitants of the Oc-Eo area who said they found it at the site.[47] Its resemblance to the Jaiyā Viṣṇu (fig. 1) did not escape Malleret, who has developed a convincing case for linking the two images.[48] The Oc-Eo image is even more like the two from Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja (figs. 2 and 3) both in iconography and in style.

There are a number of similarities in the dress. All three images wear tall mitres which are variants of the same basic shape, though the Oc-Eo image has no decoration on its mitre, in contrast to the patterns in bas-relief on the others. All three images have the same sash falling in an arc down the front of the *dhoti*, and the heavy vertical fold of drapery falling down between the legs. In contrast to the Peninsular images, however, this fold in fig. 4 seems to fall down in front of the arc of the sash, which is difficult to explain; but there are so many possible ways of draping a voluminous *dhoti* we may well hesitate to accuse the sculptor of a solecism. Another oddity of the Oc-Eo Viṣṇu is an indistinct loop under the conch shell which, Malleret observes, could be the simplification of the bulging knotted sash on the hips of the Peninsular images.[49] These oddities suggest that the Oc-Eo image is a copy, later in time and removed in distance, of a Peninsular model. The loop may be a vestigial remnant of the free-hanging end of the knotted sash which is present in the same position on the left side of both the Jaiyā and Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja Viṣṇus. All the images retain the earrings reaching to the shoulder. Otherwise they are all relatively unadorned.

Iconography

All four of these four-armed standing images are representations of one of the twenty-four forms *(mūrti)* or emanations *(vyuha)* of Viṣṇu, which are distinguished by the possession of certain aspects of the god's attributes such as energy, power, knowledge, or strength, and which are invoked by the supplicant in accordance with their special capabilities to meet the prayers and requirements of the moment.[50] These manifestations of the varied nature of the supreme god were limited to four when the concept was first formulated around the second century B.C.

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[46] Dupont, *La statuaire préangkorienne*, p. 22.

[47] *ADM*, vol. I, p. 363.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 393–395.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 394.

[50] J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta: 1946), pp. 387–388.

By Gupta times, however, the number has grown to twenty-four, which is still the number in use today in the iconographic manuals. Each of the *mūrtis* holds four attributes, one in each hand. These are listed in the Indian texts as the conch shell *(śaṅkha)*, the wheel or discus *(cakra)*, the club *(gadā)* and the lotus *(padma)*. In the Cambodian inscriptions the lotus is replaced by a symbol of the Earth *(bhū)*, which, as Pierre Dupont noted, takes a variety of forms in Cambodian art: a sphere, a disk, a segment of a sphere, or a disk that has been hollowed out. The Sanskrit inscription from the temple of Ta Keo, dating from the reign of Sūryavarman I (1002–c. 1050), lists the attributes of Viṣṇu as the club, the conch, the wheel and the earth.[51] An inscription in Old Khmer, dating from the middle of the 7th century, lists the earth as one of his attributes.[52] Dupont observes that in Indian religious tradition the form of the earth was not a sphere, but a disc, and it is thus necessary to consider the sphere, when encountered in South-east Asia, as less ancient than the disc. This may be the case, but a thorough survey of the iconography of pre-Gupta Viṣṇu images needs to be made before there is any certainty on this point. There was no standard of practice in the formative period of Hindu iconography. For example, the Viṣṇu of Hānkrail,[53] apparently a Kuṣāṇa image from Mathurā, carries a slightly rounded attribute which could be either a flattened sphere or a disc. A late Gandhāra bronze Viṣṇu,[54] now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, holds a realistic lotus with a stem. The well-known Viṣṇu from Taxila[55] also carries a realistic lotus. According to Agrawala the early images of Viṣṇu at Mathurā exhibit a considerable diversity in the range of attributes, and the *padma* was the last attribute to be evolved.[56] In southern India, according to Sivaramamurti, the lotus occurs infrequently in early Pallava sculptures, but when it is reprensented it is naturalistic. In some early Cālukyan sculptures, it is represented as "a small bud which may be mistaken for a fruit."[57] This diversity in the form of attributes could point to the existence, at an early period, of parallel iconographic traditions calling for the representation of either the lotus or the earth. By the time the iconography of Brahmanical images was standardized, after the Gupta period, the lotus may have emerged as the more usual and "legitimate" attribute for Viṣṇu images.

A certain lack of precision in the identification of four-armed Viṣṇus arises from a lack of uniformity in the texts available to the iconographers. The key to the discrimination of the individual *mūrti* from the other twenty-three emanations is the disposition of the attributes. In compiling his lists of the various combinations and the identities of the *mūrtis*, Rao cites several of the *Purāṇas* as his guide. These versified texts deal with a variety of subjects, secular as well as religious. They are primarily devoted to a description of the characteristics of one of the great divinities, and to the elements of his cult.[58] Much of the information in the *Purāṇas* is ancient. They give evidence of a long period of elaboration. Some *Purāṇas* contain historical information relating to the 6th or 7th century, and so they would have been compiled no earlier than that time. One of the texts cited by Rao is the *Pātāla* section of the *Pādma-purāṇa*.[59] This section of the text is considered to be of somewhat recent origin because of its references to tāntrism and its pronounced religious syncretism.[60] It is in some cases in conflict with the other text used by Rao, the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, which, although not of great antiquity, is regarded as a compilation of greater authority.[61] In any event, it is apparent that these Indian texts were compiled in Medieval times, so they may reflect a tradition that was stabilized considerably after the production of the Viṣṇu images from Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, Jaiyā and Oc-Eo. This time-lag, together with the conflicts in the two texts cited by Rao, makes a positive identification of the various *mūrtis* a most uncertain endeavor.

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[51] Dupont, *La statuaire préangkorienne*, pp. 143–144.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal* (Calcutta: 1962), pp. 13–15, and fig. 4.

[54] C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Bronzes* (Bombay: 1962), fig. 2.

[55] Banerjea, *Hindu Iconography*, plate XXI.

[56] Vasudeva S. Agrawala, *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathurā Art* (Lucknow: 1951).

[57] *Ancient India*, no. 6 (January 1950), p. 51.

[58] Louis Renou (ed.), *Hinduism* (New York: 1963), pp. 139–140.

[59] T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (Madras: 1914), vol. I, part. I, pp. 230–232.

In the great majority of Khmer images of Viṣṇu, from the beginning of the Pre-Angkorian period to the end of the Angkorian, the attributes are arranged according to the following scheme: the conch in the upper left hand, the wheel in the upper right, the earth in the lower right, and the club in the lower left.[62] This *mūrti* of Viṣṇu, according to the *Rūpamaṇḍana*, would be Janardana; while according to the *Pādma-purāṇa* it would be Vāsudeva. The Oc-Eo Viṣṇu does not fit this preponderant iconographic pattern. The conch shell, instead of being held in the upper right hand, is held in the lower left hand against the hip. Whatever may have been the distribution of the attributes held in the upper, and now missing, hands, it is apparent that the Oc-Eo image stands outside the mainstream of iconography in Cambodian art. The same is true of the isthmian images when compared to any other Viṣṇu image created in Siam.

In order to find parallels for this "aberrant" iconographic tradition and to resolve the contradiction between the dating for these images, 6th century for the Oc-Eo image and 8th century for the very similar isthmian images, it will be necessary to turn to a consideration of several images of Viṣṇu in India.

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[60] L. Renou, *L'Inde classique* (Paris: 1947), pp. 417–419.

[61] Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, part I, p. 231; and Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 22–23.

[62] *ADM*, vol. I, p. 391.

CHAPTER III

INDIAN COMPARISONS

The problem of the 'aberrant' Viṣṇu images is difficult because they stand outside the iconographic tradition of the regions in which they were found, they are completely unfixed in terms of stratigraphy or of documented association with material that might be dateable, and there is such a small sample that internal comparative analysis will not carry very far. Confronted with such a situation, it is sometimes possible to interpolate properly ordered objects into the chronology of a contemporary and better documented culture. Scholars have used the framework of Indian art in order to draw conclusions about objects found in Southeast Asia; problems of Etruscan art have been solved by reference to Greek and early Roman art; and the comparative use of the chronology of Roman, Parthian, and Sassanian art has been helpful for dating many objects found in Central Asia, Afghanistan, and northwestern India.

Though this has been a very useful technique, it has had some unfortunate consequences in Southeast Asia. The constant reference to Indian styles has led some scholars to give an undue prominence to Indian influence without reference to the autonomous elements of Southeast Asian culture and its powers of assimilation, adaptation and innovation.[1] While caution is necessary in drawing conclusions, Indian art styles do in some cases offer an important benchmark, especially for locating the prototypes from which early Southeast Asian images developed.

As Buddhist art, especially in the Theravāda with its severely circumscribed iconography, changes very slowly, it is possible to draw the closest parallels between certain Buddha images in Southeast Asia and their prototypes from the workshops of Sārnāth, Mathurā and Amarāvatī. Work on this problem is now at an advanced state as a result of the research of Pierre Dupont, Jean Boisselier and especially A. B. Griswold.[2] It has proved possible, if somewhat more difficult, to draw a fairly precise correspondence between Hindu images made in Southeast Asia and those fashioned in India. For example, Pierre Dupont, while noting some general affinities between the Phnom Da series in the art of Fu-nan and the post-Gupta style of Ellora, pointed also to the dissimilarities between the styles in many details so that the analogies were on the order of general tendencies rather than a point-for-point correspondence.[3] Another instructive example would be the inconclusive discussion of the prototype for the recently discovered bronze at Jalong in Malaysia.[4]

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[1] It should be noted that there has been a vigorous reaction to this tendency. For example, see D. G. E. Hall's treatment of the problem in Chapter I of the new edition *A History of South-East Asia* (3rd ed., New York: 1968), and J. G. de Casparis, "Historical Writing on Indonesia: Early Period," in *Historians of South-East Asia*, ed., D. G. E. Hall (London: 1961), pp. 121–163. Earlier work by the economic historian J.C. van Leur, and the archaeologists W. F. Stutterheim and F. D. K. Bosch, among others, had provided the stimulus for a greater awareness of elements of autonomy in Southeast Asian culture.

[2] Pierre Dupont, *Archéologie mône de Dvāravati* (Paris: 1959): J. Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris: 1966), pp. 266–271; and A. B. Griswold, "The Santubong Buddha and Its Context," *Sarawak Museum Journal*, vol. X (July–December, 1962), pp. 363–371, "Prolegomena to the Study of the Buddha's Dress in Chinese Sculpture," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXVI, 2, pp. 125 f.; and "Imported Images and the Nature of Copying in the Art of Siam," in A. B. Griswold, et al. (eds.), *Essays Offered to G. H. Luce*, vol. II (Ascona: 1966), pp. 37–73.

It will be possible, however, to trace the most direct relationship between the 'abberant' Viṣṇu images from Jaiyā, Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja and Oc-Eo and their prototype in Indian art.

Kuṣāṇa Images from Mathurā

Mathurā is an ancient political, commercial and religious center. It served as a political capital for the kings of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, a group of Indo-Scythian nomads that ruled Taxila, Peshawar and Surkh Kotal from this city in the upper Dōab. Although the dates for this dynasty are much debated, they apparently consolidated their political position in India some time in the 1st century A.D. and ruled until the mid-third century A.D. when they were defeated by Shāpur I, of the Sassanian Dynasty of Persia.

Innumerable sculptures of the Buddhist, Jain and Hindu pantheons have been recovered from the soil at Mathurā, for the city was hospitable to all the major religions.[5] It was at Mathurā during the period of Kuṣāṇa rule that many of the iconographic forms of Hindu art were developed. In the earliest forms at Mathurā, the representations of Viṣṇu are almost identical with those of the Bodhisattva Maitreya; one right hand is raised in *abhayamudrā*, one left hand holds the *amṛitaghata* (nectar flask), and the other two hands hold the *gadā* and the *cakra*.[6]

Fig. 6 is an early Kuṣāṇa image of Viṣṇu of this sort, at Palikhera near Mathurā.[7] The god wears a foliated turban. One right hand is raised in *abhayamudrā*, while the other is wrapped around the club *(gadā)*, which is almost exactly as tall as the figure, tapered with the broad end at the top, and encircled by bands at intervals. One left hand holds the *cakra*, the other holds the nectar flask associated with Maitreya.

Fig. 7 is another early Viṣṇu of similar type. The image wears a large torque decorated with a design of rosettes and leaves. The *dhoti* is held in place by a *kamarband*, most of which is hidden by the sash tied around the waist.[8]

The Viṣṇu from Jaiyā (fig. 1) resembles figs. 6 and 7 in several respects. All three images have the posterior right hand carved in relief against the *gadā* and the anterior right hand in *abhayamudrā;* the *gadā* is encircled with bands at intervals; and the disposition of jewelry is the same: torque, earrings, wrist and arm bands. There are, however, significant differences in *mukuṭa* and *dhoti;* and the attribute held on the left hip in fig. 1 is a conch shell instead of a nectar flask. In fig. 8, however, which is considered to be later in the Kuṣāṇa Viṣṇu series, the flask is replaced by a conch shell, a significant development in the emerging iconographic tradition for Viṣṇu images.

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[3] Dupont, *Préangkorienne ...*, p. 26.

[4] A. Lamb, "Treasure Trove among the Tapioca," *Malaya in History*, vol. VIII, 1 (Dec. 1962), pp. 11–14.

[5] Basic general references for an understanding of the art objects and their context at Mathurā are: J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period* (Leiden: 1949); J.Ph. Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, vol. XV: Ars Asiatica (Paris and Bruxelles: 1930); and John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley: 1967).

[6] The basic guide to the Brahmanical sculptures in the Mathurā Museum is V.S. Agrawala, *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art* (U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow; 1951). Valuable also for the study of early Viṣṇu images at Mathurā is D.B. Diskalkar, "Some Brahmanical sculptures in the Mathura Museum," *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, vol. V, 1 (1932), pp. 18–57.

[7] Agrawala, *Catalogue ...*, p. 4.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

In figs. 6, 7 and 8 the club is approximately the same height as the figure. According to a recent survey of the changing forms of the weapons held by Viṣṇu in India, this is a diagnostic clue to images of the god in the Kuṣāṇa period.[9] The club in fig. 1 is broken, but it too must have reached about as high as the top of the *mukuṭa*. This would have been necessary for aesthetic as well as iconographic reasons; a posterior left hand raised to that level would require a visual counterbalance on the right side; and as the posterior right hand holds the club at shoulder level, the only thing that could serve the purpose would be the top of the club itself.

It will now be apparent that in the iconography of Viṣṇu the conch shell on the left hip is not a development of the 8th century.[10] On the contrary it seems to be the original position of that attribute in the Kuṣāṇa art of Mathurā. It is also the position in which it is most often seen on images found in northern India and Nepal.[11]

Before leaving Mathurā, we must note the change from the foliated turban to the tall mitre, which was typically worn by images of Indra. It was a shift of considerable magnitude because the tradition of regal or divine headdress in Indian sculpture had traditionally been a turban, with a flat plate, feathers or some other device attached to the front. Professor Rosenfield suggests that the stimulus for the change may have been the example of the high, jeweled crown worn by Kuṣāṇa kings.[12]

Figs. 9 and 10, both of which date from the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathurā, illustrate this development. Both have the same disposition of attributes, and both wear crowns which are related to the usual headdress of Indra. In fig. 10, which is ascribed to the late Kuṣāṇa period, the crown is more cylindrical in shape.[13]

On the basis of analogies with the images from Mathurā, figs. 1, 2 and 3 would appear to be among the most ancient images of Viṣṇu in Southeast Asia. It will be possible to confirm this by making comparisons with some early Viṣṇu images recently discovered in India, which are lineal descendants of the tradition of style and iconography developed at Mathurā under Kuṣāṇa patronage.

Viṣṇu from Bhinmāl, Gujarat

Bhinmāl is in the Jalor district of Rājasthān, about sixty miles northwest of Mount Abu. It has been the subject of a study by Umakant P. Shah of the University of Baroda.[14] He notes that the town of Bhinmāl itself covers an old habitation mound, while there are several mounds to the right of the present entrance to the town "full of pottery and ruins of brick structures which are being dug out by local Chils for recovering old bricks."[15] In Shah's opinion these ruins go back at least to Gupta times. His most important find was the Viṣṇu in fig. 11, which is twelve inches high and carved in a greenish-blue schist. On the grounds of dress, modeling, proportions and configuration of the facial features, Shah is "inclined to assign the Bhinmāl Viṣṇu to the period of transition from the art of the Kshatrapa age to that of the classical Gupta art. The sculpture may date from c. 400 A.D."[16]

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[9] C. Sivaramamurti, "The Weapons of Vishnu," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XVIII, 2, p. 135.

[10] Jean Boisselier, "La statuaire préangkorienne et Pierre Dupont," *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. VI, 1 (1959), p. 67.

[11] Aschwin Lippe, "Vishnu's Conch in Nepal," *Oriental* Art, vol. VIII (Autumn, 1962), pp. 117–119.

[12] Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts ...*, p. 189.

[13] Agrawala, *Catalogue ...* p. 5. The image is no. 2007.

[14] "Some Early Sculptures from Abu and Bhinmāl," *Bulletin of the Museum and Picture Gallery Baroda*, vol. XII (1955–56), pp. 42–56.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

A comparison of fig. 11 with fig. 1 offers sufficient correspondences to indicate their relation to a common stylistic current. Both images are presented in total and unrelieved frontality. They share, too, the same harsh, segmented outline, the same dominance of the linear contour over the volumetric potential of form, and the same flat board-like surfaces accented by raised or incised linear patterns. They share, too, a common distribution of attributes; both hold the conch shell on the left hip and both grasp the club with the posterior right hand. The broad, round faces are strikingly similar, and so are the long eyes spreading across the entire face.

The differences between the two images are in the attached patterns of dress and confined to the rind or epidermal layer of the stone. Considering the thousands of miles that separate their provenance, it is not surprising that there are some differences in dress. Even so, it is possible to relate individual features of the dress of fig. 1 to the traditions of western India. A twisted rope-like sash falling in an arc in front of the thighs, and knotted at either side, is found on a number of early Gupta images from Śāmalāji in North Gujarat, in which the treatment of the *dhoti* with its heavy vertical fold and its system of incised radiating pleats, is much the same as in fig. 1.[17] The incised geometric pattern on the upper edge of the *dhoti* in fig. 1 recalls the pattern on the belt of an early standing Buddha of the *kapardin* type in the Musée Guimet.[18] And the decoration of the mitre in fig. 1, with vines, leaves and rosettes, is rather like that of the headdress worn by one of the Śāmalāji Viṣṇus.[19]

That there should have been artistic contact between western India and the Malay Peninsula is not at all surprising. Cœdès considers it a certainty that the great western ports such as Bharukaccha (modern Broach), Śūrpāraka (modern Sopara) and Muchiri (modern Cranganore) were in contact with the Golden Khersonese.[20] It is well known that these ports did a flourishing trade with the Roman Empire during the early centuries of the Christian era. There is now a body of archaeological evidence that links Southeast Asia withe the early Mediterranean trade, and it is reasonable to assume that some of the Roman objects showing up at Southeast Asian marts were transshipped from the west coast of India. It is, of course, very difficult to connect most of them with any specific port in western India. But it is possible to point to a direct link in the case of the bronze figure excavated at Tra Vinh in Cochinchina, which is a local copy of a Poseidon by Lysippus,[21] while another Poseidon figure of the same type was excavated at Kolhapur in the Deccan south of Bombay.[22]

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[17] U. P. Shah, "Sculptures from Śāmalāji and Roda (North Gujarat) in the Baroda Museum," *Bulletin of the Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda*, vol. XII (Special Number, 1960), pls. 41, Standing Śiva; 47, Kumāra (Skanda); 48, Nārāyaṇa or Viśvarūpa-Viṣṇu; and, 50, Nārāyaṇa or Viśvarūpa Viṣṇu.

[18] J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period* (Leiden: 1949), pl. XIX, fig. 30. See also: Moti Chandra, "The History of Indian Costume from the 1st century A.D. to the Beginning of the 4th Century," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, vol. VII (1940), p. 206.

[19] For another Viṣṇu image dating from the same period as the Bhinmāl image and with conch shell on the hip see: M. R. Majumdar (ed.), *Chronology of Gujarat* (Baroda: 1960), p. 209 and Plate XLIV. The type was apparently spread widely in northwestern India.

[20] *Les États hindouisés* ..., p. 63.

At this point, however, the trade in Roman objects is less relevant to our inquiry than the establishment of a chain of relations between Southeast Asia and northwestern India. In the Djakarta Museum there is a small seal which Professor Louis Malleret has related to a plaque found at the Kuṣāṇa site of Begrām, fifty miles west of Kabūl.[23] His excavations of the Funanese city of Oc-Eo revealed a number of links with northwestern India. He discovered a blue tourquoise seal bearing what looks like the figure of a Sassanian nobleman.[24] The site yielded a great many gems, some of which appear to have affinities to jewels found at Sirkap and Taxila.[25] Many of the gems are inscribed in Sanskrit in a script which, according to Professor J. Filliozat,[26] is like the *brāhmi* used in north and central India during the period from the second through the fifth centuries of the Christian era. At Bathé, near Oc-Eo, a Buddha head of Gandhāran type was found.[27] The pre-Angkorian images of Sūrya, dressed in a short tunic, wearing boots and a high mitre, are perhaps a distant reflection of Indo-Scythian influence.[28] There may be a dynastic link between Fu-nan and the Indo-Scythian kings who bore the royal title of Chandan.[29] In the 4th century, according to the Annals of the Liang Dynasty, a foreigner bearing this title made himself king of Fu-nan.

There is thus a body of evidence to link north and northwestern India with Southeast Asia. Most of the material evidence was found at the Funanese site of Oc-Eo, a trading station of the earliest commercial empire in the region. The evidence for the Malay Peninsula, though less abundant, is not altogether lacking. Among the early Buddha images found on the Peninsula, some appear to be imported from the classical Gupta school of Sārnāth and the post-Gupta schools of western India. As an important trade route connected Mathurā with the west coast port of Broach,[30] it is entirely possible that products of the Mathurā workshops were reaching the Peninsula via Broach. There is a small Buddha image from Ipoh in Perak, Malaysia, which A. B. Griswold considers to be very close to work done at Sārnāth.[31] Another, seven inches high, carved in relief on a small stone stele, which was found by Dr. Quaritch Wales at Vieng Sra on the isthmus, is believed by Mr. Griswold to be either a product of a north Indian workshop or a very close copy made on the isthmus.[32]

[21] Charles Picard, "A Figurine of Lysippan Type from the Far East: The Tra Vinh Dancer," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XIX, Pts. 3 and 4, pp. 342–352.

[22] H. D. Sankalia and M. G. Dikshit, *Excavations at Brahmapuri (Kolhāpur)* 1945–46 (Deccan College Monograph Series: 5; Poona, India: 1952), pl. XXXIII B.

[23] Louis Malleret, "Pierres gravées et cachets de divers pays du Sud-Est de l'Asie," *BEFEO*, vol. I, no. 1 (1963), p. 99.

[24] Louis Malleret, *L'Archéologie du delta du Mékong*, vol. III, Texte: La culture du Fou-nan (Paris: 1962), pp. 372–373.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 375–376.

[26] G. Cœdès, "Fouilles en Cochinchine, Le site de Go-Oc-èo, ancien port du royaume de Fou-nan," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. X, pt. 3 (1947), p. 197.

[27] J. Boisselier, *La statuaire khmère ...*, p. 86.

[28] Dupont, *La statuaire préangkorienne*, pp. 63–64, pl. XII B; and V. Goloubew, "Les Images du Sūrya au Cambodge," *Cahiers de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, no. 22 (1940), pp. 38–42. L. Malleret, "Une nouvelle statue préangkorienne de Sūrya dans le Bas-Mekong," in A. B. Griswold (ed.), *Essays Offered to G. H. Luce*, vol. II (Ascona: 1966), pp. 109–120.

[29] See: G. Cœdès, *Les États hindouisés ...*, pp. 91–94, and references.

[30] M. D. Desai, "Some Roman Antiquities from Akota near Baroda," *Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum*, vol. VII, pts. I and II (1949–1950), p. 22.

[31] A. B. Griswold, "Imported Images ...," p. 61.

[32] *Ibid.*

These images serve to bring the Peninsula into the stream of contacts that left such a thorough impression on the Transbassac sites of Indo-China. If the archaeological evidence offered by the isthmus is rather slight for this period, it should be remembered that very little of the area has been explored systematically by trained archaeologists. In any event high humidity, torrential rainfall and dense forest all conspire to reduce the body of evidence potentially available for study, and to create difficulty in locating those materials which have withstood the ravages of the environment. No better illustration of the random nature of discovery on the Peninsula can be offered than Colonel Low's comment that he discovered the Cherok Tekun inscription under heavy undergrowth in Kedah at a place that he had passed often for a period of years.[33]

It should be observed that our labored quest for existing evidence of material links between the Peninsula and northwestern India has been arbitrary in its focus. It has ignored entirely the rich body of Chinese historical writings which would enable us to see the city-states of the Peninsula functioning as entrepôts in the trade that reached from China to India and western Asia. Any doubts about the existence of links between the Peninsula and western and northwestern India would be dispelled by an examination of the early pattern of the Po-ssŭ trade between western Asia and China, in which, as early as the fifth century A.D., Indonesian shippers were already providing a key middleman link.[34] But the problem in this study has been to provide links in the transmission of an art style, and since art styles are either transmitted by artists traveling from one point to another, a subject about which we have no evidence during this early period, or by the movement of art objects, we have concentrated our search on the latter.

The Yēlēśwaram Excavations

Recent excavations near the famous Buddhist site of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Andhra Pradesh have contributed a key document to the discussion of chronology and possible prototypes for early Viṣṇu images in Southeast Asia. Because of the threat of flooding posed by dams rising on the River Krishna, the important site of Yēlēśwaram was subjected to a program of salvage archaeology during the period 1960–62. Habitation at the site was traced through six cultural periods ranging from about the 2nd century B.C. up to the late medieval period.[35]

In level IV, Dr. Khan, who was in charge of the excavation, uncovered a two-armed statue of Viṣṇu (fig. 12). The right hand holds a large columnar club *(gadā)*, while the left holds a conch shell at the left hip. Dr. Khan dates the image to the 4th or 5th century, noting that in style it is close to late Amarāvatī. He believes, however, that it was carved under the early Pallava kings who succeeded the Īkṣvāku dynasty at end of the 3rd century A.D.[36]

The dress is of special interest when compared to the Viṣṇu images of the isthmus and Oc-Eo (figs. 1–4). The sash that falls in an arc in front of the legs is shared by all the images. This is not found on any Kuṣāṇa images from Mathurā which I have been able to study. The inference is that the immediate prototype for the Southeast Asian images under examination is likely to be found in one of the sites of the Andhradeśa.

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[33] Low, *Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Indo-China*, vol. I (1886), p. 223.

[34] O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce ...*, pp. 129–158.

[35] M. A. W. Khan, *A Monograph on Yēlēśwaram Excavations*, Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series no. 14 (Hyderabad: 1963).

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 14. I am grateful to Dr. Khan for the photograph of the Viṣṇu from Yēlēśwaram.

Subsequent to the publication of the Yēlēśwaram report, Dr. Khan produced an interesting report on a relief (fig. 13) recovered in coastal Andhra Pradesh. It is an early sculpture of Viṣṇu in his man-lion incarnation as Narasiṁha,[37] accompanied by the "Five Heroes" (pañcavīra) who personified certain qualities of Viṣṇu. The second from our left, a standing figure of Viṣṇu with two arms, wears a *kirīṭamukuṭa* which derives from that of Indra and matches the one worn by the Viṣṇus of Jaiyā, Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja and Oc-Eo. This figure holds a conch shell on the left hip, and wears a sash that falls in an arc over the *dhoti*.

Stylistically, Dr. Khan associates this slab with the sculptures carved under the Īkṣvāku dynasty in the 3rd century at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. He traces the religious influence back to Mathurā where the Mora Well inscription, dateable to the 1st century B.C., refers to a temple of the Five Heroes (pañcavīra) where actual images were installed.[38] This Vaiṣṇava development in the north was being felt in the religious practice of the Andhradeśa by the last quarter of the third century A.D., as revealed by inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[39]

It is not difficult to believe that the new force of religious conviction in the Andhradeśa was communicated directly to the small kingdoms developing on the isthmian tract of the Malay Peninsula. There is a considerable body of evidence provided by Buddhist sculpture that links the two areas in a system of artistic exchange. A. B. Griswold has demonstrated that the heritage of artistic practice in the workshops of the isthmus in the 5th century derived originally in large part from Amarāvatī or Ceylon, and that even after Gupta and Post-Gupta styles were superimposed, echoes of it can still be discerned.[40]

The Amarāvatī or early Ceylon style had a strong impact on Southeast Asia, which appears in numerous places including Û Tòng and other sites in Thailand which go back to the pre-Dvāravatī period. It is now clear that a vital civilization, developed in the Mènâm basin around the second or third century A.D., was subsumed in the kingdom of Dvāravatī in the late 6th century.[41] Intensive archaeological work in the isthmus might well reveal proto-historic contact with Andhradeśa of the kind now proved for Û Tòng.

Epigraphy also points to early contact between the Malay Peninsula and South India. The earliest inscriptions on the Peninsula are in South Indian script. They were not found in the isthmus but at Cherok Tekun in Province Wellesley, and at Bukit Meriam in Kedah about halfway between the Muda and Merbok Rivers. There is also the famous inscription of the sailing-master Buddhagupta, found in the north of Province Wellesley.[42] All of these were found by Colonel Low in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Cherok Tekun inscription is so worn that it is illegible, and the Bukit Merriam has been lost, although "a not very satisfactory" hand copy of it survives.[43] The Buddhagupta inscription, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, has been examined by Professor B. Chhabra, who dates it in the 4th or 5th century.[44]

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[37] M. A. W. Khan, *An Early Sculpture of Narasiṁha*, Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series no. 16 (Hyderabad: 1964).

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 4; also Agrawala, *Catalogue ...*, p. III; Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts ...*, pp. 151–152.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[40] A. B. Griswold, "Imported Images ...," p. 57.

[41] These new finds and their significance are discussed in the following: Jean Boisselier, "Récentes recherches archéologiques en Thaïlande," *Arts Asiatiques*, vol. 12 (1965) and *Nouvelles connaissances archéologiques de la ville d'U T'ong* (Bangkok: 1968), and H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Dvāravatī* (London: 1969).
In Burma, a similar heavy impact of the Andhradeśa is apparent in the period between the 1st and 5th centuries as revealed by the important excavation of the early Pyu site at Beikthanomyo. See: Aung Thaw, *Report on Excavations at Beikthano* (Ministry of Union Culture, Rangoon: 1968).

A fourth inscription, found by Quaritch Wales at Bukit Choras, in Kedah north of Kedah Peak,[45] was ascribed to the 4th century by a curator of the British Museum on paleographic evidence. This inscription has been accepted in support of Dr. Wales's dating of a structure whose remains he uncovered there.[46] But the early date for the inscription has recently been contested by Professor F. D. K. Bosch and Dr. J. G. de Casparis, and if their arguments are sustained, an 8th or 9th century date would be more likely.[47]

Summary

On the basis of the evidence adduced above, it would appear that the Viṣṇu from Jaiyā (fig. 1) is probably the most ancient Hindu image discovered in Southeast Asia. The 8th-century date generally ascribed to it must be too late by at least three centuries. It can be traced back to ultimate prototypes from the period of Kuṣāṇa rule at Mathurā, though the most immediate stylistic influence seems to be from the 4th century art of the Andhradeśa.

In the iconography of the four-armed Viṣṇu as it developed at Mathurā, the earliest images have the anterior right arm raised with the hand in *abhayamudrā*. The *padma* was evolved later as a distinctive symbol to be held in Viṣṇu's hand.[48] On the basis of the disposition of the arms, the Jaiyā image (fig. 1) may be earlier than those at Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja (figs. 2, 3), as the latter appear to have held the *padma*.

Since Gupta images of Viṣṇu are different in style and iconography from the Kuṣāṇa prototypes, the Jaiyā image, which is unaffected by these changes, should be dated no later than 400 A.D. The images in this style from Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja and Oc-Eo should then be dated in the 5th century.[49]

The conclusion that the Jaiyā image is older than the closely similar Viṣṇu from the Funanese port city of Oc-Eo is of considerable interest. In the first half of the 5th century, Fu-nan appears to have undergone a cultural revolution which is described as a "second period of Indianization". According to the Chinese accounts this shift in the intellectual landscape came about because the people of Fu-nan accepted as king a Brahman from India named Kauṇḍinya who changed all the laws to conform to the system of India.[50] He is said to have come from P‘an-p‘an, a kingdom that scholars place on the isthmus, on the Bay of Bândòn.[51] This is, of course, where Jaiyā is located and where the image of Viṣṇu in fig. 1 was found. Altogether, this constellation of evidence, text and image indicates that intensive exploration of the area around the Bay of Bândòn might lead to the recovery of one of the most ancient kingdoms in Southeast Asia.

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[42] Colonel James Low, "An Account of several inscriptions found in Province Wellesley, on the Peninsula of Malacca," *Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Indo-China*, vol. I (1886), p. 223–225; reprinted from *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (JASB) vol. XVII (1848), pp. 62–66; also, "On an Inscription from Keddah," *Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Indo-* vol. XVIII (1849), pp. 247–249. *China*, vol. I (1886), pp. 232–234, reprinted from *JASB*,

[43] Alastair Lamb, "Kedah and Takuapa: Some Tentative Historical Conclusions," *Federation Museums Journal (FMJ)*, vol. VI (1961), pp. 78–79.

[44] "Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture During Pallava Rule as Evidenced by Inscriptions," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. I (1935), pp. 16–20.

[45] H. G. Quaritch Wales, "Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JMBRAS)*, vol. XVIII, pt. I (1940), p. 7.

[46] Roland Braddell, "Most Ancient Kedah: Part I," *Malaya in History*, vol. IV, no. 2 (July 1958), pp. 21–22.

[47] Alastair Lamb, "A Note on a Small Inscribed Stone Tablet from Dr. Wales' Kedah Site No. 1," *FMJ*, vol. VII (1962), pp. 67–68.

[48] Agrawala, *Catalogue* ..., p. VII.

[49] Malleret, *ADM*, vol. I, p. 395, had dated the Oc-Eo image to the first half of the 6th century.

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[50] George Cœdès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: 1968), p.56.

CHAPTER IV

THE VIṢṆU FROM TAKUAPĀ

The Viṣṇu from Takuapā (fig. 14) is a very impressive statue, well over six feet in height. When Lunet de Lajonquière first came upon it in 1909, it was lying on a small hillock near the mouth of the Takuapā River on the west coast of the isthmian tract.[1] It was broken into several pieces, which had been collected and grouped around the base. Even in such a dismal condition it struck him as possessing an aesthetic quality such as he had never seen in any of the nine hundred monuments he had visited in Cambodia and Siam. His judgment is still valid. Despite the loss of the forearms and most of the facial features, and despite the fractures of the body, it is perhaps the most powerful and emphatically monumental sculpture yet discovered in Siam.

The existence of such a statue raises a number of obvious questions. When was it made? Does the work reflect in any way the level of cultural achievement on the isthmus during the period of the early city-states, or was it imported? Unfortunately there is no text, inscription or archaeological data that can be brought into definite association with the image.

During his visit to Takuapā some twenty-five years after Lajonquière's exploration, Dr. Quaritch Wales made an examination of the find-site of the image. After clearing the rank undergrowth on the hillock, he was able to trace out the foundation of a small platform made of earth and laterite. It measured about twenty-five feet square, with a height of two feet. He also excavated what appeared to be the remains of a brick stairway leading a short way down the hillside.[2] Aside from this clearing operation and tentative exploration, there has been no systematic excavation in the area.

Whether it is possible to amplify the meagre record now available is problematic. Takuapā is in the rich belt of tin stretching along the west coast of the isthmus, where the earth has been worked by local miners since ancient times, and extensive tracts have been scoured by dredges in recent decades. It is almost certain that potentially valuable archaeological sites have disappeared under the dredges.

Present Dating

In view of its surpassing grandeur, it is surprising that the Takuapā Viṣṇu (fig. 14) has received so little attention. The generally accepted date for it, c. 6th century A.D., depends largely on the work of Pierre Dupont whose opinion, formed almost twenty years ago, has found wide acceptance.

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[1] Lunet de Lajonquière, "Le domaine archéologique du Siam," *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indo-Chine* (BCAI), vol. I, 1909, pp. 170–171.

[2] *IAL*, vol. IX, no. 1, pp. 8–9.

He first discussed it in a discerning article which appeared in 1941, in which he studies a number of stone statues which had come to light in Siam, Cambodia and the Mèkóng Delta region of what is now South Viet-nam, and which had several characteristics of style and iconography in common.[3] They were all standing figures of the god Viṣṇu with four arms and bare chest; they all wore a plain *dhoti* wrapped tightly about the hips and secured at the waist by a knot; and they all wore a ceremonial headdress, the *kirītamukuṭa* or "mitre".

Dupont's views were refined somewhat in an article the following year. In it he stated his belief that the Takuapā image could be directly attached to the Pallava style of southern India, and suggested that its presence on the isthmian tract was due to the accidents of trade rather than to the development of any artistic tradition that could be identified as distinctive to Peninsular Siam.[4] Indeed he took it to be the prototype for the other mitred Viṣṇus of Siam available to him for study at that time. These were from scattered sites on the isthmian tract, as well as from Petburi (Bejrapurī) at the very head of the Peninsula, and the site of Dong Sî Mahâpót (Śrī Mahābodhi) in Prācīṇapurī Province in eastern Siam. They were so closely analogous to the long-robed Viṣṇu images of Cambodia that artistic contacts could be assumed.

In his book on pre-Angkorian sculpture, published in 1955, Dupont returned to the problem. He took the Takuapā Viṣṇu to be contemporary with the most ancient Hindu images known in Cambodia, those belonging to the style of Phnom Da, which he dated in the first half of the 6th century. The tradition of the long-robed Viṣṇu image spread from Siam to Cambodia, being propagated in the latter area at the beginning of the 7th century by the Khmer artists of Chen-la, the kingdom that was the successor to Fu-nan. While there were successive modifications in the style, images of this basic type were produced throughout the 7th and 8th centuries.[5] Dupont succeeded in establishing an orderly and convincing picture of stylistic development for the long-robed Viṣṇu images, which he divided into three groups.[6]

In Group A he placed the images which (apart from fig. 14) he considered to be the oldest. They wore a low mitre, which in most cases widened toward the top; the *dhoti* was held in place by a "buckle" (really the upper hem gathered into a knot) at the waist; and a sash was wrapped horizontally around the hips. In this group he placed the following images found in Siam: two from Dong Sî Mahâpót, two from Vieng Sra (our figs. 15 and 16), one from Sating Pra (fig. 18) and one from Petburî (fig. 19).[7]

In Group B the mitre was cylindrical, or nearly so, and taller than in Goup A; in addition to the "buckle", the *dhoti* was secured by a narrow belt tied in a bowknot; while a sash passed diagonally from the right thigh to the left hip in front, and back again in the rear. Group B included three images from Siam: two from Dong Sî Mahâpót, and one from Śrīvijaya Hill in Surāṣṭradhānī Province (fig. 17).

In Group C there was no hip-sash; and the hands, instead of being attached to the hips for reinforcement, were held away from the body. Dupont considered Group C the latest of the three, dating approximately from 650 to 800 A.D.[8]

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[3] Dupont, "Viṣṇu mitrés de l'Indochine occidentale," *BEFEO*, vol. XLI, 2 (1941), pp. 233–254.

[4] "Le Buddha de Grahi et l'école de Chaiya," *BEFEO*, vol. XLII (1942), pp. 105–106.

[5] Dupont, *Préangkorienne*, p. 128.

[6] *BEFEO*, vol. XLI, p. 244.

[7] The provenance of the Viṣṇu from Sating Pra (fig. 18) was erroneously given as Dong Sî Mahapót (Śrī Mahābodhi).

The Takuapā Viṣṇu (fig. 14) did not fit into either Group A or B. As Dupont knew of no other images of Group C from Siam it appeared to stand apart in type and quality from all the images discovered in Siam.

When Dupont wrote, only a limited number of them was known to him. Since then there have been developments that raise doubts about the antiquity of fig. 14. As we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, the tradition of four-armed statues of Viṣṇu in Southeast Asia originated not with fig. 14 but with statues like those in figs. 1–4. This tradition had a long life before the 6th century.[9]

Pallava Analogies

Let us reexamine Dupont's view that the Takuapā Viṣṇu is an almost pure reflection of Pallava style, perhaps even the work of a sculptor trained in southern India.

He drew this conclusion because of similarities of costume. In Pallava art, Viṣṇu wears a cylindrical mitre and a long *dhoti* quite like that of the Viṣṇu from Takuapā; but a comparison of specific images shows that these similarities in the attached patterns of dress tend to divert attention from the very real plastic differences between the isthmian sculpture and the Pallava tradition.

The anatomy of the arms in fig. 14 is different from the prevailing practice in pre-Cōḷa south India. At least on those four-armed stone images known to me, the arms are not separated above the elbow.[10] This factor can perhaps be related to the Indian sculptors' concern for the support and stability of projecting parts. Fig. 14, on the contrary, has a striking separation of the arms at the shoulder, and the sharply opposed angles of the arms create a spatial ambience that is much greater then that of the Indian images noted. The formal division and surface patterning of the torso is one of the salient stylistic features of fig. 14. The median line, dividing the upper torso in half vertically, is clearly marked. The torso is also divided horizontally into two distinctly demarcated zones. A slowly swelling convex plane, beginning at the clavicle (or where the clavicle would be if the sculptor had been interested in articulating this feature) and extending in an arc to a point above the abdomen, is echoed by the swelling of the abdomen itself in a convex plane which ends at the top of the *dhoti* (fig. 14b). Such surface patterning and concern with tectonic structure are not a mark of Pallava sculpture, in which the torso is commonly flat.[11]

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[8] Dupont, *Préangkorienne*, p. 132.

[9] While this study is focused on the Hindu sculptures of peninsular Thailand it inevitably has connections with similar images found in the pre-Angkorian art of Cambodia. On the basis of the information now available, it seems to me that the Viṣṇu from Tuol Koh, ascribed by Dupont to the eighth century, is closely related to the ancient traditions of Viṣṇu with the conch shell on the hip. It still retains the sculptured jewelry that is characteristic of this earlier tradition, and probably dates no later than the early sixth century. Similarly, the Viṣṇu of Bathé, published by Malleret in *ADM*, I (pl. LXXXIII), is, as he suggested, also an early representation of the god. Both are clearly earlier than the image from Takuapā, which therefore cannot be the prototype for the long-robed Viṣṇu images of pre-Angkorian art.

[10] National Museum, New Delhi, India: Museum Accession Nos. 59.153/114, 59.153/117, 59.153/160, and Madras 4511.10. This holds true for *all* the four-armed images at the late Pallava temple at Tiruttani illustated in: Douglas Barrett, *The Temple of Virattaneśvara at Tiruttani* (Bombay, 1958). This appears also to have been the standard practice among the related sculptures produced by the Nolambas and the Pāndyas. See: Douglas Barrett, *Hemavati* (Bombay, 1958), and C. Sivaramamurti, *Kalugumalai and Early Pandyan Rock-Cut Shrines* (Bombay, 1961).

[11] F. H. Gravely and C. Sivaramamurti, *Guide to the Archaeological Galleries* (4th ed., Madras, 1960), p. 23.

A puzzling feature of fig. 14 is the sudden reduction in thickness of the upper right forearm at the wrist, as if it were cut down in order to be fitted into some attachment. Noting this singular feature, Lajonquière conjectured that the hands may have been attached by metal collars.[12] It has gone unremarked, and perhaps unnoticed, by subsequent writers. It is not apparently a common feature in Pallava art, nor, for that matter, is it met with again on the Peninsula.

Other dissimilarities in style may be mentioned in passing. Fig. 14 is severely unadorned, while Pallava images of Viṣṇu usually show the god with the sacred thread and neck ornaments. The legs and arms of fig. 14 are taut with muscular tension, and the deltoid, pectoral and calf muscles are even given a somewhat naturalistic modelling. Pallava images are organized as a composite of abstract volumes unified by a svelte and flowing contour line. The legs and arms tend to be tubular, without any definition of musculature.

It could safely be said that fig. 14 would look out of place in the family of Pallava images. There may be some affinities between the two styles, but they would be the result of purposeful adaptive responses on the part of the Takuapā sculptor to artistic influences from south India which seemed useful and relevant to his own pre-occupations. There is no evidence that he was committed to Pallava style in any sense, and certainly there is nothing to indicate that fig. 14 was made by an Indian sculptor. If, as Dupont originally thought—and it should be noted that he implicitly revised this view in his last work on pre-Angkorian art—the image had actually been made in India and later taken to Peninsular Siam, it should be a simple matter to place it in one of the Indian schools; but it is not apparent what Indian style it might be attached to. On the other hand a number of reasons will be advanced below for including it within the art of the Peninsula, and regarding it as a signal document in the exploration of plastic and spatial problems on the part of the Peninsular sculptor.

Most writers have taken it for granted that the style of the mitred Viṣṇus from the Peninsula derives from the Pallava.[13] One reason seems to be the cylindrical form of the mitre or *kirītamukuṭa*. This is a crown worn by Indra and Kuvera in early Indian art. It is met with in representations of Indra at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the pre-Pallava art of southern India.[14] In the Buddhist art of Gandhāra, Indra wears a basket-like *kirīta*.[15] In the Kuṣāṇa sculpture of Mathurā the *kirītamukuṭa* was transferred to Viṣṇu. Coomaraswamy notes the presence of the cylindrical *kirītamukuṭa* in both Pallava and Gupta art. For the Gupta, he cites the Viṣṇu images outside the Candragupta Cave at Udayagiri, Gwalior. He adds that this form of headdress "styled by French scholars the *coiffure en mitre* [...] has reached Siam and Cambodia, where in 'Khmer primitif' art, in the sixth and seventh centuries, it is characteristic both for Viṣṇu and Indra."[16]

An example of the cylindrical mitre in northern India in early post-Gupta art is seen in the standing Viṣṇu from Kanauj, now in the Baroda Museum, which is said to date from about the 6th or 7th century.[17] The form of this headdress is quite similar in shape to that of fig. 14, in fact much more so than those of early Pallava art, which are taller. I do not mean to argue that there is any relationship between fig. 14 and the Kanauj Viṣṇu images, but only to point up the danger in isolating a single feature, such as the headdress, without reference to the stylistic context of the whole work of art, and drawing chronological and cultural conclusions on the basis of a similar feature on an image thousands of miles away, existing in a different social, political and ethnic context.

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[12] Lunet de Lajonquière, "Le domaine archéologique du Siam," *BCAI*, 1912, p. 170.

[13] Le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia*, p. 81. Groslier, *The Art of Indochina*, p. 84. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, p. 196. Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, p. 44.

[14] Philippe Stern, Mireille Bénisti, Jeannine Auboyer and Madeleine Hallade, *Evolution du style indien d'Amarāvatī* (Paris, 1961), p. 54. For Amarāvatī see Plate XXVI in: Douglas Barrett, *Sculptures from Amarāvatī in the British Museum* (London, 1954). For Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, see Plate XII in: P. R. Ramachandra Rao, *The Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* (Madras, 1956).

[15] See "The Visit of Indra," Fig. 246 in: Alfred Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra* (Paris, 1905).

[16] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Iconography," *Eastern Art*, vol. I, no. 1 (July, 1928), pp. 40–41.

Compelling arguments for a reassessment of the date of fig. 14 are provided by a number of sculptures that have come to light in recent years. It will be apparent that some of them are almost identical in type to the Takuapā Viṣṇu. Dupont, of course, did not have this evidence before him when he formed his views about fig. 14.

Sichon (Sijala)

In 1966 I was able to pay a brief visit to several interesting sites scattered about the village of Sichon, located on the east coast of the isthmus about thirty-eight miles due north of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. The objects I examined, some *in situ* and others said to have been found around Sichon, indicate that the area possessed an old and important culture. The pre-Thai objects show influences from a variety of traditions, including Dvāravatī and Cambodia, and it is possible to date them from at least the 8th century through the 13th, after which the traditions of Thai Buddhist art can be discerned.[18]

While the sites would probably yield a wide range of material if properly excavated,[19] one statue (fig. 22) is already known which sheds new light on fig. 14. It is a male figure with four arms, wearing a long *dhoti*, and a headdress which resembles that of fig. 14. The arms are broken, but it is almost certain that the lost attributes were the conch *(śankha)*, club *(gadā)*, wheel *(cakra)* and either the lotus *(padma)* or the symbol of the earth *(bhū)*. Like fig. 14, fig. 22 has no reserves of stone at the hips, which in the images of Groups A and B were disguised by the knot of the sash and the handle of the club, and which functioned as part of a system of supports to protect the projecting parts of the image from being broken off. Instead, the lower arms were held away from the body, and apparently supported by reserves of stone, the remains of which may be seen on the base near the feet. This image, then, would fit into Dupont's group C, those long-robed Viṣṇu images which do not wear a sash and whose arms are held away from the body.[20] Since the latter are the latest in the series of long-robed Viṣṇu images in Cambodia, and since they are believed to date from between 650 and 800, we may assign a similar date to the Sichon image.

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[17] U.P. Shah, "A Few Brahmanical Images in the Baroda Museum," *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum*, vol. X–XI (April, 1953–March, 1955), pp. 19–23, and Fig. 10.

[18] For a detailed analysis of some of the objects from the Sichon area, and speculation on the historical background of the area, see: Stanley J. O'Connor, "Si Chon: An Early Settlement in Peninsular Thailand," *JSS*, vol. LVI, 1 (January, 1968), pp. 1–18; see also, Suchit Wongthet, "Wandering Archaeology" (in Siamese), *Chao Grung*, vol. XVI, 2 (November, 1966).

[19] Already in May 1966, this obscure site had been visited by persons who allegedly removed several objects presumably for commercial advantage.

[20] Dupont, *Préangkorienne*, pp. 130–132; Malleret, *ADM*, IV, pp. 145–146; Jean Boisselier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris, 1964), p. 239.

Sating Pra

A second important site on the isthmus that has only recently come to notice is the small hamlet of Sating Pra located on the west coast some 20 miles north of Songklâ. It was at one time an important trading and administrative center but was superseded by the modern town of Songklâ. A wide range of objects, dug up from the soil in the region, have been transported to Songklâ where they are now under the supervision of the Abbot and monks of Wat Majjhimāvāsa.[21] Among them are bronze images of Mahāyāna and Hindu iconography perhaps reflecting influences from Sumatra, Java, Bengal and south India; a stone Ganeśa dateable to the 7th or 8th century; several long-robed Viṣṇu images of similar date; and a lot of ceramics, many of which appear to belong to the late Sung and the Yüan dynasties. An object of special interest is a reliquary container which, since it was used in sacred architecture, would indicate a tradition of monumental architecture in the area of Sating Pra.

In the present context, the most important object at Wat Majjhimāvāsa is a broken stone torso (fig. 21a, b). The head, arms and feet are missing. The upper torso is nude. The tightly fitting *dhoti* falls almost to ankle level. Its upper hem is fastened by being twisted on itself two or three times at the waist: what looks like an elliptical buckle is actually the twisted hem. Around the hips is a girdle rendered as a pair of narrow bands in relief which completely circle the body, and tied in a figure-of-eight bowknot in front. Falling from the twisted hem at the waist is a vertical fold of cloth, made up of the pleated lateral edge of the *dhoti*. It passes under the hip-girdle, gaining in mass and projection as it descends between the legs, doubtless to join the base which is now lost. In images of the long-robed Viṣṇu, this vertical fold usually serves as one of the points of support to assure the stability of the image on its base.[22] Fig. 21 has or had several other features in common with the long-robed Viṣṇu images: bare chest, double shoulder, four arms, long *dhoti*. It seems most probable that it belongs to this series.

It shares an important characteristic with fig. 14: the absence of fractures at the hips shows that the lower arms were held away from the body. This then would extend the number of images qualifying for membership in Dupont's Group C. No less important are the controlled naturalism of fig. 21 and the sophistication of its modeling, which place it near fig. 14 in quality. Its arched back and swollen abdomen, while conforming to the Indian Yogic concept of inner breath or *prāṇa*, also show the depth to which the sculptor has worked his block of stone. The facility of handling and the pronounced patterning of the musculature on the chest are all suggestive of the preoccupations that reach full statement in fig. 14.

Hua Kao Village, Surāṣṭradhāni Province

The evidence available for the study of early Hindu sculpture in the isthmus was considerably augmented in 1966 when Professors A. B. Griswold and Jean Boisselier photographed four previously unstudied images at Wat Śrīvijaya at Hua Kao village near the Bay of Bândòn. They are important in showing that Viṣṇu images of all three types (Groups A, B, C) were produced at one workshop, although presumably not all at the same period.

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[21] The following articles deal with objects said to come from Sating Pra: S. J. O'Connor, "An Early Brahmanical Sculpture at Songkla," *JSS*, vol. LII, 2 (July, 1964), pp. 163–169, and "Satingphra: An Expanded Chronology," *JMBRAS*, vol. XXXIX, 1 (1966), pp. 137–144; A. Lamb, "Notes on Satingphra," *JMBRAS*, vol. XXXVII, 1 (July, 1964) and H. G. Q. Wales, "A Stone Casket from Satingphra," *JSS*, vol. LII, 2 (July, 1964), pp. 217–223.

[22] Except for the Sichon image (fig. 22).

The badly mutilated statue in fig. 25 appears to be a long-robed Viṣṇu of Group A. It is bare chested; the closely-wrapped *dhoti* is tied at the waist; and fragmentary reserves of stone remain at the hips, around which a horizontal sash of the sort associated with Group A is wrapped. The statue would thus have affinities with figs. 15, 16, 18 and 19. Two Viṣṇu images from Dong Sî Mahâpót belong to the same group.[23]

A second image at Hua Kao (fig. 23a, b) is clearly a Viṣṇu of Group B, wearing a double girdle, and a diagonally placed hip-sash. It is very close in style to fig. 17 from the same province of Surāśtradhāni, and was probably made in the same workshop. It is also similar in type to two images from Dong Sî Mahâpót.[24]

A third image at Hua Kao village (fig. 24a, b) is almost certainly a Viṣṇu of Group C. It clearly has no reserves of stone at the hips to support the arms as in Groups A and B. It does not wear a sash at all, which is not needed as a pretext for a puffed-out knot on the right hip. It joins figs. 21 and 22 in providing analogies of type with fig. 14.

Another stone torso at Hua Kao (fig. 26a, b) is unidentified. It is not a Viṣṇu, and is reproduced here so as to bring it to the attention of scholars who may wish to study it. Represented on the right leg is the head of a tiger and on the rear of the image is a paw. It would appear thus to be either a representation of Śiva or Avalokiteśvara. Dr. Lamb has suggested that representations of Avalokiteśvara wearing the tiger head and pelt may belong to the art of the empire of Śrīvijaya.[25]

Petburî

Another image that Professor Dupont did not have before him when he wrote is a four-armed Viṣṇu from Petburî (fig. 20). It is in very good condition, being almost entirely presented in a single plane without disengaging the limbs from the matrix of the stone block. As there are no reserves at the hips to reinforce the hands, the image should be assigned to Group C. Against this classification it may be objected that no such reserves are needed because the figure is carved almost completely in relief; but it is only necessary to note that in fig. 15, which is carved in the same manner, all the points of reinforcement are carefully included, showing that the sculptor was making a ritually correct copy of the type of Viṣṇu image which was orthodox in his day. The same considerations would surely have governed the author of fig. 20 if he were not working at a time when the sash and reserves that characterized Groups A and B were no longer a matter of prevailing style.

It will be recalled that another long-robed Viṣṇu was found at Petburî (fig. 19). This one clearly belongs to Group A. It wears a heavy mitre that widens towards the top; and a sash is wrapped horizontally around the hips. The hands, held at the hips, are attached not only to the body but also to two of the supports – the club at the left and the cascading end of the sash at the right. An unusual feature is the second sash, which falls in an arc in front of the body, and which appears to have been inspired by the drapery of the "aberrant" Viṣṇu images which carried the conch on the hip (figs. 1–4).[26] The mitre too is unusual; though it has analogies with the large heavy mitres of Group A, it is convex on top and crowned with a protuberance. This is not found on any of the other long-robed Viṣṇu images from Siam. It is, however, a feature of pre-Angkorian art, where it can be identified in the lintels of Tuol Ang, Vat Eng Khna, Tang Kasang and Vat Po Veal. Dupont dates the tradition to the 7th century.[27] It is also found on a free-standing image of Umā, which Dupont considered to be the oldest image of the goddess in pre-Angkorian art.[28]

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[23] Dupont, *BEFEO*, vol. XLI (1941), pl. XXVII, A and B.

[24] *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX A and B.

[25] A. Lamb, "A Note on the Tiger Symbol in Some Southeast Asian Representations of Avalokiteśvara," *Federation Museums Journal*, vol. VI (1961), pp. 89–90.

Fig. 20 is later in time than fig. 19. There has been a loss of naturalism in the treatment of the conch shell in comparison with fig. 15. The mitre, which narrows towards the top instead of widening, sits low on the cranium and has pointed flaps at the temples. This type of mitre, and the presence of a moustache, are in conformity with developments in later pre-Angkorian art. By drawing analogies with the styles of Prasat Andet and Kompong Prah we may date fig. 20 to the 8th century. As this image is one of the long-robed Viṣṇus of Group C from Siam, we can be reasonably secure in dating that group between 650 and 800, which is the same dating Dupont gave this group in Cambodia.

Conclusion

Recent discoveries have permitted a reassessment of the date of fig. 14. It no longer appears to be a work of the 6th century possibly imported from Pallava India, but instead a fully developed product of an isthmian workshop between 650 and 800.

If we follow the changes in the tradition of the long-robed Viṣṇu image, we can discern an original impulse from the earliest Hindu art of the Andhradeśa, which was later modified by Gupta and post-Gupta influences. This is particularly evident in figs. 15 and 16, which are close in style to the Funanese tradition of Phnom Da and can be dated c. 6th century. It must be remembered that we look at the mitred Viṣṇu images without seing them with the real jewels and other detachable adornment which they almost certainly once wore. We have no inscription from Siam that sets forth this custom, but the epigraphy of Cambodia shows that by the mid-7th century the practice was common there.[29] It is, however, possible to find one mitred Viṣṇu of Group A in Thailand in which the elements of adornment are shown in relief. It is in the collection of H. R. H. Prince Chalermpol Dighambara (fig. 27).[30] When seen with its adornment, the mitre loses the superficial resemblance to the Pallava style that is initially so persuasive an analogy. Its affinities are close to Gupta and post-Gupta art.[31]

The Viṣṇu images of Group B, those with the tall cylindrical mitre, appear to reflect a response to Pallava art of the 7th century, assimilated into an earlier tradition.

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[26] In addition to the Viṣṇu from Oc-Eo, this convention is also found on several images of Viṣṇu in pre-Angkorian art, for example those from Tay Ninh and Trapaṅ Ven; see Malleret, *ADM*, IV, fig. 3 and Pl. IV. It is also found on the Ganésa image from Triton, which Professor Malleret felt could not date any later than the first half of the eighth century: *ADM*, I, pp. 415–417 and pl. LXXXIX.

[27] Dupont, *Préangkorienne*, pl. XXVI B, XXVI A, XXVI and pp. 135–138.

[28] *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVII A and pp. 165–166.

[29] Inscription of Ponhea Hor analyzed by Dupont, *ibid.*, pp. 143–146.

[30] *Masterpieces from Private Collections*, National Museum, Bangkok, 1968.

[31] For a Hindu sculpture from the isthmus exhibiting Gupta influence see: S. J. O'Connor, "An *Ekamukhaliṅga* from Peninsular Siam," *JSS*, vol. 54, 1 (1966), pp. 43–49.

It is possible to see the images of Group C, including fig. 14, as a development in which local preoccupations are expressed by opening up the image so that it stands freely and actively in space.

The importance of all this is threefold. First, it is possible now to see an exchange of artistic conventions around the Gulf of Siam from the 4th or 5th century through the 8th. Second, in the development of these Viṣṇu images we see the same kind of accretion of styles that Pierre Dupont traced in the development of the Dvāravatī images of the Buddha. Into a tradition traceable to the art of Amarāvatī and Ceylon, Gupta and post-Gupta elements were assimilated, while the memory of earlier styles and iconography gives the Dvāravatī images some of their unique characteristics.[32] Third, we see in fig. 14 a prime document that suggests the qualitative achievement of the isthmian sculptor. It is the culmination of a local school rather than, as originally thought, the achievement of a Pallava sculptor of southern India, from which the more and more distant replicas on the isthmian tract could be read as a devolution.[33]

Both the qualitative achievement and the heterogeneous influences to be discerned in a work like fig. 14 can be ascribed to the cosmopolitan nature of the commercially oriented city states that sprang up at favored locations on the isthmus. The sophisticated forms of fig. 14 are matched by evidence which suggests that an important international trade centered at Takua Pā in ancient times. The area is endowed with several attractive features: abundant tin, one of the better anchorages on the west coast, and the possibility of early trans-peninsular communication with areas of early settlement on the east coast.

In earlier times, the Takuapā River was navigable over the greater part of its course. From the head of navigation a short portage, perhaps five miles, led to the headstream tributary to the river systems flowing down to the Bay of Bândòn. Local residents of the Takuapā area were accustomed to making the round-trip from the town up to the watershed and over to Bân Sok on a branch of the Bândòn River in one day.[34] Lajonquière reported that the wrecked hull of a boat fourteen meters long was found near Pong at the upper reaches of the Takuapā River.[35] It is not clear whether it is identical to the "anchors and débris of a sea-going vessel of respectable size" which W. W. Bourke reported had been found on the upper reaches of the river some fifty years prior to his visit in 1902.[36] In 1934 Quaritch Wales made the journey from Takuapā to the Bay of Bândòn following the rivers, and published a very full account of his experience.[37] He found the upper reaches of the river so silted that they could be navigated only by the smallest boats, and then only at the height of the rainy season.

Kò Kao Island, at the mouth of the Takuapā River, provides evidence that Takuapā played an important role in the early international trade between Western Asia, India and China. The island, the southernmost of three which afford shelter to the Takuapā River estuary, is roughly eight hundred yards off the mainland, and on its estuary side it is bordered by a narrow band of mangrove swamp. The chief archaeological site on Kò Kao Island is at the southern end, where a small fresh-water stream cuts through the growth of mangrove on the estuary side, and at low tide its sandy bottom provides easy access to the site. Here, scattered over a sandy plain several acres in extent, is a profusion of pottery and glass fragments, broken bricks, ceramic and glass beads. The pottery and glass fragments occur in such quantities and are concentrated in such a small area that they would far exceed the domestic needs of any community living on the island. They are of diverse age and origin. Chinese stonewares and porcellaneous wares are thoroughly jumbled together with earthenwares of either local or Indian manufacture, and Middle Eastern blue-glazed wares. Mixed in with the ceramics is an amazing quantity of glass fragments which glitter in the sun.

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[32] Dupont, *L'archéologie mône de Dvāravatī* (Paris, 1959).

[33] This picture is at variance with the view of H. G. Quaritch Wales. He has examined my revised dating for the Takuapā Viṣṇu as put forward in a short article, and he objected to it at some length. For his view see: "A Note on the Takuapa Viṣṇu," *JMBRAS*, vol. XL, 1 (July, 1967), pp. 153–154. My reply is in *JMBRAS*, vol. XLI, 1 (July, 1968).

[34] F. H. Giles and George Scott, "Remarks on the Land Route Across the Malay Peninsula," *JSS*, XXVIII, Part I (July, 1935), p. 83.

[35] *BCAIC* (1909), p. 257.

[36] G. E. Gerini, "Siamese Archaeology: A Synoptical Sketch," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1904), pp. 245–246.

[37] H. G. Q. Wales, *Towards Angkor* (London, 1937), and *IAL*, vol. IX, no. 1, pp. 16–17. 3.

During his visit to the island in 1934, Dr. Wales collected some ceramics and sent them to the British Museum where they were examined by Mr. R. L. Hobson. The latter identified one ware as belonging to the Six Dynasties period (220–589 A.D.), while the rest of the Chinese wares, in his view, fell within the limits of the T'ang dynasty, and the blue-glazed Middle Eastern wares were roughly contemporary with them.[38] Dr. Lamb, who visited the site in February 1961, collected some ceramic sherds, glass fragments and beads from the surface of the island at the same site which Dr. Wales had explored. The sherds were examined by Mr. Basil Gray and Mr. Pinder-Wilson of the British Museum, and, in their opinion, the Chinese sherds were not later than the T'ang period and not earlier than the 7th century. Sherds of blue-glazed ware appeared to be Middle Eastern in origin, and were assigned tentatively to the 8th or 9th century.[39]

In 1963 I made a small collection of sherds at Kò Kao Island and sent them to the Sarawak Museum for Mr. Tom Harrisson, then Curator, to compare with the excavated material from the great trading sites in the Sarawak River delta. He was able to match almost all the sherds with excavated specimens from Sarawak. He found some Yüeh sherds which could be pre-T'ang, but most of the wares could be fitted into types associated with the T'ang and Sung periods.[40] Neither the blue-glazed ware of the Mediterranean nor the abundant fragments of glass vessels occur in the Sarawak sites.

It is clear that Takuapā was an important entrepôt, with trading connections reaching to the Middle East, India and China. Ships calling there would presumably offload cargo, revictual and refit. Quite likely they waited in the estuary for favorable winds. All this activity would require warehousing facilities, at least a limited agricultural development in the hinterland, and developed forms of economic and social organization. The Kò Kao site has offered little evidence beyond the abundance of trade goods. The only structure brought to light is the foundation platform of a building which Dr. Wales concluded was a temple built of perishable materials.[41] Presumably warehouses and domestic buildings, if indeed there was any settlement on the island beyond that essential for the maintenance of commerce, were all constructed of perishable materials, and have left no trace.

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[38] *IAL*, vol. IX, p. 10.

[39] Alastair Lamb, "Some Glass Beads from Kakao Island, Takuapa, South Thailand," *FMJ*, vol. VI (1961), p. 48.

[40] S. J. O'Connor and Tom Harrisson, "Western Peninsular Thailand and West Sarawak: Ceramic and Statuary Comparison," *Sarawak Museum Journal*, vol. XI, 23–24 (July–December, 1964), pp. 562–566.

[41] *IAL*, vol. IX, pp. 11–13.

Unfortunately the materials on the surface of the site have been thoroughly disturbed, and everything of intrinsic value that may have come to light has disappeared. There is thus no evidence of the kind of trade goods such as seals, inscribed gems, cloths with designs, or figurines, which could have had an impact on the formation of styles on the isthmus. Nevertheless, the Peninsula and especially a west coast entrepôt called Kalah were well known to Arab geographers and navigators.[42] Most of these written sources are subsequent to 850, and the trade at Takuapā, on the basis of the ceramics, was already under way by that time. And of course traders from Western Asia had been active in the trade centered on Tun-sun as early as the middle of the 3rd century.[43] The *Po-ssŭ* or Persian trade had been a continuing factor in early Southeast Asian commerce, and in the rise to power of the Śrīvijayan Empire.[44] These extensive contacts with Western Asia may have stimulated the artists of the Peninsula. At the very least, it is apparent that the cultural ambience of the isthmian artist was subject to a wide range of influences. Any interpretation of the early cultural history of the Peninsula which ignores the importance of reciprocal relationships between the neighboring countries of Southeast Asia and the subtle flow of influences resulting from its pivotal position in international trade would not be sufficiently comprehensive to have any prospect of accounting for the development of art styles.

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[42] G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient au VIII^{e} siècle* (Paris, 2 vols., 1913 and 1914). Paul Wheatley, "Arabo-Persian Sources for the History of the Malay Peninsula in Ancient Times," in *Malaysian Historical Sources* (Singapore, 1962). G. R. Tibbetts, "The Malay Peninsula as Known to the Arab Geographers," *Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. VIII (1956), pp. 21–60, and "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia," *JMBRAS*, vol. XXX, Pt. 1 (1957), pp. 1–44; "Pre-Islamic Arabia and South-East Asia," *JMBRAS*, vol. XXIX, Pt. 3 (1956), pp. 182–208.

[43] Wheatley, Golden Khersonese, p. 16.

[44] See, O. W. Wolters, "The Po-ssŭ Pine Trees," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. XXIII, Pt. 2 (1960).

CHAPTER V

LATE PALLAVA AND CŌḶA STYLE ON THE PENINSULA

Brahmanical sculpture in Peninsular Siam from the 9th to the 11th century is dominated by South Indian styles. The few images available for study are so close in style to known Indian examples of late Pallava and early Cōḷa art that they seem to have been made by South Indian artists, either on the Peninsula or in India. This is an unexpected phenomenon, since the Brahmanical sculptors of the Peninsula had slowly developed both a technical mastery of their medium and a stylistic vocabulary which reflected local and regional, not Indian, preoccupations. Although this intrusion of south Indian style represents a violent discontinuity in the course of Brahmanical sculpture on the Peninsula, there is no indication that any scholar has ever regarded it as such.[1]

Of these later Brahmanical sculptures the only ones that have attracted more than passing notice are the group on Pra Narâi (Nārāyaṇa) Hill at Takuapā (figs. 28–31)*. Over the past sixty years a small literature has grown up about them. Indeed their situation is so unusual that they could hardly fail to command attention. They are embedded in the trunk of a large tree located along the north bank of the Takuapā River about ten miles upstream from the estuary. They are much revered by the local people, who have grouped other fragments of sculpture, and a stone slab bearing an inscription, around the tree, and enclosed the whole array in a low masonry wall. In December 1963, Alec Moon, the local manager of the Siamese Tin Syndicate, was supervising the erection of a permanent shelter for these objects near their present location, but out of the path of the approaching tin dredge.

The statues and inscription first came to European attention in 1902, when W. W. Bourke came across them in the course of his duties as a mining expert.[2] Colonel Gerini wrote a notice of them in 1904, but he had not personally studied them, and was merely summarizing information received from Bourke.[3] It was not until the visit of Lunet de Lajonquière, in 1909, that a sketch was published.[4] Dr. Wales visited the site in 1934, and subsequently published the first photograph of these sculptures.[5] They were illustrated and briefly discussed by Dr. le May in

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[1] Dr. Quaritch Wales, "Recent Malayan Excavations," *JRAS* (1946), pp. 142–149, does refer briefly to several of these images, but only to support his conviction that sculpture had no development on the Peninsula, and that, as direct Indian influence waned, sculpture reflected a corresponding decline. Not recognizing the previous level of autonomy in the Peninsular images, the resurgence, or intrusion, of south Indian style does not exist as a problem for him.

[2] W. W. Bourke, "Some Archaeological Notes on Monthon Puket," *JSS*, vol. II (1905).

[3] Colonel G. E. Gerini, "Siamese Archaeology: A Synoptical Sketch," *JRAS*, 1904, pp. 233–248.

[4] *BCAIC*, 1909, p. 235.

[5] *IAL*, vol. IX, no. 1, Plate IV, and *Towards Angkor*, p. 48.

* See p. 63.

1938.[6] In 1961, Alastair Lamb took several sharply detailed photographs of them.[7] By comparing the sketch and the photographs, it is apparent that the three images have undergone some modification since Lajonquière first saw them. The smaller male figure has lost one of its arms, and its lower body is no longer visible. The central figure has gained a head-dress modelled after the one worn by the smaller male figure. One of its four arms is missing now, but the loss may have occurred before Lajonquière's visit. In any event, one of its hands is now detached and propped up against the tree. The female figure apparently lost one of its breasts temporarily. It was replaced, but upside down.

An identification of the figures, all three of which have lost whatever attributes they may have carried, is most difficult, perhaps impossible. Lajonquière considered the central figure to be Śiva. Quaritch Wales agreed, adding that the three figures could be compared to the Gaṅgādhara group at Trichinopoly.[8] Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, though disagreeing with Dr. Wales on a number of other questions relating to Takuapā, accepts the Gaṅgādhara comparison.[9] In any case it seems likely that the three figures do in fact constitute a group. They are all carved in high relief in the same material, a schistose limestone; the style is similar; and the difference in scale between them is doubtless hieratic, intended to emphasize the importance of the central figure. In the absence of any iconographic clue to the contrary, the Gaṅgādhara designation seems plausible.

More important than the iconography of these images is the question of their style. Most scholars who have written about them have agreed that they are similar to images from South India. They are usually said to be of Pallava style.[10] It is not evident however that they have been carefully analyzed to determine whether they date from the Pallava or early Cōḷa period. We shall base our comparisons on the central figure of the group (figs. 28, 29), since the other two present few clues to chronology.

The sacred thread *(yajñopavīta)* provides one indication of a Pallava date. It is decorated with a double bell-clasp and ribbons (fig. 29), an iconographic feature of the early medieval period in South India.[11] The *yajñōpavita*, however, does not flow over the right arm as it does in many early Pallava images.[12] It is composed of bands of pearls, stemming ultimately from the Cālukyan style. The Rāṣṭrakūtas who succeeded the Cālukyas in the western Deccan in 753 A.D. carried on the rivalry of the former dynasty with the Pallavas. During campaigns against the Pallavas in 775 and 803, the Rāṣṭrakūtas introduced the style of intricately worked decoration into the dominions of the Pallavas.[13] The style of sacred thread in fig. 29 suggests the image should be dated no earlier than the 8th century.

A Viṣṇu recently acquired by the British Museum, attributed to the late Pallava of the 8th

[6] Reginald le May, *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 42 and figs. 41, 42.

[7] "Three Statues in a Tree: A Note on the Pra Narai Group, Takuapa," *FMJ*, vol. VI (1961), Plates XXXVIII–XL.

[8] *IAL*, vol. IX, no. 1, p. 15.

[9] "Takuapa and its Tamil Inscription," *JMBRAS*, vol. XXII, Pt. I, p. 27.

[10] Le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia*, pp. 80–81; Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, p. 45; Dupont, "Le Buddha de Grahi et l'école de Chaiya," *BEFEO*, vol. XLII (1942), p. 10.

[11] Sivaramamurti, "Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography," *Ancient India*, no. 6 (January, 1950), p. 24.

[12] C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Bronzes* (Bombay, 1962), p. 9, and figs. 29 and 30.

[13] A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York, 1927), p. 102; Sivaramamurti, *Ancient India*, no. 6, p. 37.

or 9th century, has fairly close analogies with fig. 29.[14] The *yajñopavita* and the double-bell clasp with ribbons are similar. The dress, while entirely different in configuration from that of fig. 19, has the same stiff appearance.

Another rather similar figure, the Sūrya from Kāverīpākkam, probably dates from the 9th century.[15] Its more elaborate costume sets it apart from the stone sculptures in the rock-cut temples at Nāmakkal.[16] These caves, located in the Salem District of Madras State, are believed to have been constructed around the beginning of the 8th century. Fig. 29 is much closer to the 9th-century Sūrya than to the 8th-century figures from Nāmakkal.

Whether in fact fig. 29 belongs to the early Cōḷa, rather than the Pallava, will ultimately have to be settled by a specialist in South Indian sculpture. Tentatively, a late Pallava date seems to be indicated. The stiff drapery is a typical Pallava feature,[17] and the bow above the girdle is another.[18] The two swags of cloth falling from the hips are seen on many Pallava bronzes. The girdle of fig. 29 is simple compared with the profusion of detail and festoons of ropes of pearls which adorn the girdles of early Cōḷa bronzes.[19] The presumption of a Pallava date is given added force by a comparison with the sculptures of the Viratteneśvara temple at Tiruttani, which is dated by inscription to the last quarter of the 9th century.[20] It was built during the reign of the last of the Pallava kings, Aparajita, who was overthrown by the Cōḷa king, Āditya I, in 890 A.D.[21] The necklace and armbands worn by the figures at Tiruttani are more elaborate than those worn by any of the Pra Narâi figures (fig. 28–31). It would appear that the Pra Narâi group is earlier than the Tiruttani assemblage, and that a date between 750 and 850 should be assigned to it, though without any great confidence.

Next to the statues is a roughly circular stone slab inscribed with Tamil characters. The inscription was first translated in 1914 by E. Hultzsch,[22] whose version Professor Cœdès included in his collection of inscriptions from Siam.[23] According to Hutzsch the inscription refers to the building of a tank by a person of royal descent whose first name ended in "-varman".[24] The tank was placed under the "protection of the members of the *Maṇigrāmam* and of the men of the vanguard and of the cultivators."[25] A subsequent reading has been provided by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.[26] He believes that the inscription includes the title of one of the later Pallava kings, Nandivarman III, who reigned from 826 to 850. The greater part of the inscription, according to this later version, would read as follows:[27]

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[14] Illustrated on the cover of *Oriental Art*, vol. VIII, no. 1.

[15] Illustrated in: F. H. Gravely and C. Sivaramamurti, *Illustrations of Indian Sculpture, Mostly Southern* (Madras, 1960), Pl. XXIX.

[16] P. R. Srinivasan, "Sculptures in the Two Rock-Cut Vaiṣṇava Cave Temples of Nāmakkal," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXIV, pt. 2, pp. 107–116.

[17] Gravely and Sivaramamurti, *Guide to the Archaeological Galleries*, p. 23.

[18] James C. Harle, "The Early Cola Temple at Pullamaṅgai," *Oriental Art*, vol. IV, no. 3, p. 103.

[19] Ajit Ghose, "A Group of Early Cola Bronzes," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* (1934), pp. 176–186.

[20] Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Pallava Antiquities*, Vol. II (Pondicherry, 1918), p. 17.

[21] Barrett, *The Temple of Virattanesvara* ..., pp. 3–4.

[22] "Supplementary Note on a Tamil Inscription in Siam," *JRAS* (1914), Pt. 1, pp. 397–398. See also *JRAS* (1913), pp. 337–339, for a previous version.

[23] *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, vol. II (second edition, Bangkok, n. d.), Inscription XXIV, pp. 32–33.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] "Takuapa and Its Tamil Inscription," *JRASMB*, vol. XXII, pt. I (March, 1949), pp. 25–30.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

> The tank dug by Naṅgūr-udaiyan (and) called Avani-nārānan (is placed under) the protection of the Maṇikkirāmam, the residents of the military camp and …

If Professor Sastri has correctly untangled the references to Avani-nārānan (Viṣṇu on the earth) by associating this title with King Nandivarman III, then the inscription can be assumed to date from the second quarter of the 9th century. This date would fit comfortably with the ceramic evidence on Kò Kao Island. Although there is no firm evidence that the inscription is related to the statues, its date would correspond roughly to their late Pallava style. The inscription may also provide a context for them, since the tank it refers to might possibly be associated with a temple.

The most important question, from the point of view of the art historian, has so far gone unasked in the discussion of the Pra Narâi group. As we saw previously, Peninsular sculptors created an image of Viṣṇu at Takuapā in the 7th or 8th century which is regarded as one of the greatest achievements of stone sculpture to be found on the mainland of Southeast Asia (fig. 14). It was the final solution of stylistic problems which had occupied the isthmian sculptors at least since the late 6th century. Why then, in the 8th or 9th century, should three stone relief figures appear at Takuapā, which in style and costume are almost classic statements of later Pallava art? If Peninsular sculptors were so skilled, why were they not commissioned to make the Pra Narâi images? They almost certainly did not make them. There is nothing that leads up to the Pra Narâi group, and no other Hindu image in the Peninsula which would appear to be even remotely related to it. Since the group can be fitted into a known Indian style with some ease, and since it shows no idiosyncrasies of style or handling that would certainly accompany a copy of a Pallava original by a Peninsular sculptor, we may assume either that it was made in India, or that it was made at Takuapā by an Indian artist. Either way, the sculptures suggest that there was a significant Indian presence at Takuapā.

The inscription now associated with the statues on the Pra Narāi Hill sheds some light on the problem. It refers to the founding of a tank by the *Maṇigrāmam* (Maṇikkirāmam), a powerful south Indian merchant guild, and to the existence of a military camp. Professor Sastri, who was the first to identify the merchant guild in the inscription, has suggested that the inscription indicates that a good number of Tamils, including soldiers and merchants, were present at Takuapā, and that they probably had a permanent stake in the area. He further conjectures that the 9th century Pallava king, Nandivarman III, may have extended his power to "parts of the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, at least for some years."[28]

Professor Sastri has elsewhere assembled a body of inscriptions relating to the South Indian merchant guilds.[29] If we place the Pra Narâi inscription in this larger context, it seems improbable that it indicates any political or military role for the Pallavas on the Malay Peninsula. The inscriptions assembled by Professor Sastri show that the guilds were granted a measure of autonomy at home, and quite probably received such privileges abroad. In addition to regulating trade, the guilds made donations of public works and religious monuments. The earliest of these inscriptions in India, which dates from about 870, describes a grant for the support or maintenance of a tank.[30] In this case there is no doubt that it was an irrigation tank, not a ritual one, because the inscription was found *in situ* at the northern end of an irrigation tank.[31]

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[28] *JRASMB*, vol. XXII, Pt. 1, p. 30.

[29] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas* (2d ed., rev., Madras, 1955), pp. 595–598.

Many of the other inscriptions relating to the merchant guilds refer to matters of local administration, the articles of merchandise in which the corporations traded, the international character of the trade, and, most often, the grant of money for the support of religious establishments. An inscription of 1050 A.D., in the reign of the Cōḷa king Rājādhirāja I, records benefactions made by one of the guilds to a South Indian village, and states that the guild was served by regiments of foot-soldiers and swordsmen.[32] Since it is certain that the guilds were subject to the authority of the Cōḷa kings, who were then almost at the zenith of their power, we must assume that the soldiers were employed by the guilds to protect the security of goods and warehouses. In this respect they would be analogous to the industrial police found at modern manufacturing plants, the Pinkerton detectives, or the railroad police. This may suggest the nature of the Indian presence at Takuapā, and the significance of the Pra Narâi inscription. It is unlikely that the mercenaries of the *Maṇigrāmam* were charged with any duties beyond protecting the property of the guild; Professor Sastri says that the state did not give the guilds strong backing in their foreign trade ventures.[33] His statement might be subject to qualification in view of the 11th-century Cōḷa raids on the Śrīvijayan Empire; but in the context of many other inscriptions relating to the guilds, nothing in the Pra Narâi inscription is out of the ordinary range of guild activities, and it would not of itself indicate a political-military extension of Pallava power to the Malay Peninsula.

This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the guilds endowed temples and left inscriptions abroad in areas in which, clearly, they were not allowed any more latitude than a limited autonomy over their daily commercial transactions. An inscription found at Pagán in Burma, written in 13th-century Tamil characters, records donations made by an Indian from the Malabar coast to a Viṣṇu temple built by one of the guilds at Pagán.[34] As there can be no question of Cōḷa sovereignty over Burma, the significance of the inscription is probably that, in preponderantly Buddhist Pagán, the Hindu merchants found it necessary and desirable to build their own temple. Similarly, the 12th or 13th-century South Indian statues discovered in a Chinese temple at Ch'uan-chou, on the China coast opposite Formosa,[35] do not indicate any Indian political role in China. But they suggest a parallel to the Pagán temple, showing that the guilds erected Hindu temples and statues in countries where the prevailing religion was Buddhism or some other non-Hindu religion.

Erecting temples in foreign lands was by no means solely an Indian practice. During the reign of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman II (690–720 A.D.), a Buddhist temple was built at the South Indian port of Negapatam for the use of Chinese Buddhists who came there to trade.[36]

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[30] S.R. Balasubrahmanian, "The Tisai Ayirattainurruvar and the Municandai Record," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal Land- en Volkenkunde*, Deel LXXIV (1934), pp. 613–620.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 615.

[32] Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, pp. 596–597.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 598.

[34] E. Hultzch, "A Vaishnava Inscription at Pagan," *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VII (1902–1903), pp. 197–198.

[35] Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 608.

[36] T.N. Ramachandran, "The Nāgapaṭṭinam and Other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Museum," *Bulletin of the Madras Museum*, vol. VII, no. 1 (1954), p. 14.

It is well known that the Mahāyāna Buddhist Pāla ruler of Bengal recorded in 850 A.D. the dedication of five villages for the upkeep of a temple built at the famous college and monastery complex of Nālandā by the Śailendra Prince Bālaputradeva.[37] About a century and a half later, a Śailendra ruler of Śrīvijaya built a temple at Negapatam.[38] Since Negapatam was one of the most important ports in South India, as well as one of the last remaining centers of Buddhism in India in medieval times, it may be assumed that commerce, at least as much as piety, had attracted the Malays and Sumatrans of Śrīvijaya to form a colony there. They are believed to have been responsible for an ancient tower at Negapatam, which served as a landmark for vessels approaching the Negapatam roadstead until it was pulled down by European missionaries in 1867.[39]

It is not at all surprising for the *Maṇigrāmam* to have had a tank dug at Takuapā in the 9th century, or to have maintained mercenaries to guard their warehouses. The latter was very likely a privilege granted the guild by the Empire of Śrīvijaya. It seems likely that Śrīvijaya controlled Takuapā in the 9th century, though we have no direct evidence to that effect. Kedah was a dependency of Śrīvijaya in the late 7th century, as we know from the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-ekaśatakarman* written by I-Tsing after his return to China in 695,[40] but before that it had been independent, at least it seems to have sent an embassy to China in 639.[41] After seizing this outpost on the Straits of Malacca, Śrīvijaya extended its influence to the east coast of the Peninsula, as attested by the Ligor inscription of 775.[42] The animating principle of Śrīvijayan policy was to win and maintain a commanding position in the Straits in order to dominate the rich trade flowing between the ports of China, India, and the Middle East. It would scarcely be compatible with this policy for Śrīvijaya to allow Takuapā to operate in uncontrolled competition with Kedah. The archaeological evidence indicates that Takuapā far overshadowed Kedah as an international trading center before the 10th century, for example the surface finds of ceramics at Takuapā some of which appear to fall within the limits of the T'ang dynasty.[43]

The situation at the Kedah sites around the Merbok Estuary is different. Several of them may date from the period when the entrepôt at Takuapā was flourishing, including some on the upper reaches of the Bujang River excavated by Dr. Wales a little before World War II;[44] but there is no evidence of any significant international trade there before the Sung period,[45] for the sites have yielded only an odd piece of T'ang pottery or early Middle Eastern glass; these places seem to have been engaged mainly in agriculture, though also carrying on some measure of trade with the shifting communities of the interior.[46] Some 300 years after the beginning of international trade at Takuapā, however, an entrepôt pattern developed at Pengkalan Bujang (as the name indicates, a landing place on the River Bujang). In the area around it and in the river bed, archaeologists from the University of Malaya have excavated thousands of fragments of porcelain, stoneware and earthenware, Middle Eastern glass, fragments of glass bracelets, and glass beads; so there is little doubt that it was an entrepôt with a trade involving goods from China, India and the Middle East;[47] but the pattern of international trade there, though it is similar to that found at Takuapā, does not seem to have started until the latter came to an end.

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[37] Hirananda Shastri, "The Nālandā Copper Plate of Devapāladeva," *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VII (1924), pp. 310–327.

[38] K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, "The Larger Leiden Plates," *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXII (1933–1934), pp. 213–281; also, R. C. Majumdar, "Note on the Sailendra Kings Mentioned in the Leiden Plates," *Epigraphie Indica*, vol. XXII (1933–1934), pp. 281–284.

[39] Ramachandran, *Bulletin of the Madras Museum*, vol. VII, no. I, p. 14.

[40] For a translation of this passage see: O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, pp. 227–228.

[41] O. W. Wolters, "Śrīvijayan Expansion in the Seventh Century," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXIV, Parts 3–4, p. 419.

[42] Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions*, vol. II, Inscription XXIII, pp. 20–24.

[43] See above, Chapter IV, p. 50.

[44] Dr. Quaritch Wales, "Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya," *JMBRAS*, vol. XVIII, Pt. 1 (February, 1940).

[45] Alastair Lamb, "Some Notes on the Distribution of Indianized Sites in Kedah," *Journal of the South Seas Society*, vol. XV, Pt. II (December, 1959), pp. 99–111. Lamb has raised a number of objections to Wales' chronology, especially to the early dates he assigned the bulk of the sites on the upper Bujang. Several of these sites Wales assigned to fifth-sixth centuries, while the bulk of the others he dated from the seventh to the tenth centuries.

These considerations indicate that Śrīvijaya controled the port of Takuapā in the second quarter of the 9th century when the Pra Narâi inscription was written. Any other conclusion would conflict with the known facts regarding the structure of power and the policies of the Sumatran-based thalassocracy. About the monopolistic objectives of Śrīvijaya there can be little doubt. Its capabilities varied somewhat throughout its history, but its intentions remained stable. In the 9th century, on the evidence supplied by Arab geographers such as Abu Zaid and the author of the *'Akhbar as-Sin wa'l-Hind*, Śrīvijaya controlled *Kalah*, the entrepôt best known to the Arabs.[48] There is a great deal of latitude in the various Arab references to *Kalah*, and nothing in the texts specific enough to allow an equation between Takuapā and *Kalah*.[49] If Śrīvijaya was able to control the leading entrepôt of the period, it is likely that it maintained control, or at least surveillance, over any secondary entrepôts. Whether or not Takuapā was *Kalah*, it was certainly not a fugitive station for sporadic small-scale attempts to evade the monopolistic impositions of Śrīvijaya. If it were, it is unlikely that stone statues of Hindu divinities of monumental proportions, would have been erected there, or that an Indian mercantile guild would have invested money there in public works.

This conclusion may help us to decide why, after some hundreds of years of sculptural production on the isthmus and the development of stylistic autonomy, three purely Indian works should appear at Takuapā in the 9th century. The answer may well be that Mahāyāna Buddhism, under the patronage of Śailendras, monopolized the bulk of the artistic talent, the workshops and élite support on the Peninsula. This may mean that the workshop which produced fig. 14 in the 7th or 8th century was now exclusively occupied in producing sculpture to serve the Mahāyāna. It may be for this reason that the Maṇigrāmam was forced to build its own Hindu shrine, and bring its statues from India or have them made by an Indian sculptor at Takuapā; in other words, to do the same sort of thing the guilds did later in the non-Hindu communities at Ch'uan-chou and at Pagán.

There is plenty of evidence to support such a view. In the 8th century there was a remarkable expansion of Mahāyāna Buddhism in several of the countries of Southeast Asia, which Cœdès describes as the dominant cultural fact of the century.[50] On the isthmus itself the ratio of Hindu statues, as opposed to Buddhist, swings heavily in favor of the latter. In terms of artistic quality, as we shall see, Hindu sculpture, after the fortuitous appearance of the Pra Narâi group, takes a sharp downturn. Quaritch Wales says that at the sites he exacavated around the Merbok Estuary in Kedah there seems to have been a trend away from Hinduism toward the Mahāyāna in the foundations of the second half of the 8th century.[51] The Ligor inscription of 775 commemorates the erection of shrines to the Buddha and two Mahāyāna divinities, the Bodhisattvas Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi.[52] The main monument of Wat Mahādhātu at Jaiyā, which may date from around the 8th century,[53] is thought to have been originally dedicated to the Mahāyāna, and so is the old monument now hidden inside the main stupa of Wat Mahādhātu at Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja.

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[46] A. Lamb, "Kedah and Takuapa: Some Tentative Historical Conclusions," *FMJ*, vol. VI (1961), pp. 79–81.

[47] A. Lamb, "Pengkalan Bujang, An Ancient Port in Kedah," *Malaya in History*, vol. VII, no. 1 (September, 1961), pp. 12–17.

[48] Translations from G. R. Tibbetts, "The Malay Peninsula as Known to Arab Geographers," *Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. VIII (1956), pp. 21–60.

[49] Historical geographers are in disagreement about the location of Kalah. For a summary of the literature see: Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 222–224.

[50] Cœdès, *The Indianized States ...*, p. 96, and sources cited.

A great many bronze images with Mahāyāna iconography must have been produced in the Peninsula from the 9th to the 13th century, and some a great deal later. In the absence of a more exact designation, they are all classified by the Siamese museums in a basket category called "Śrīvijaya style". There are several dozen in the display cases of the National Museum at Bangkok, about a dozen in the museum of Wat Majjhimāvāsa at Songklâ, and others in monasteries at Jaiyā and Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, not to mention a quantity in private collections in Bangkok and elsewhere. Most of them were found in the isthmian part of the Malay Peninsula. Some of them are masterpieces, such as the two famous bronze statues of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara from Jaiyā;[54] but the majority are small in size and indifferent in quality as could be expected of cheaply-produced objects of piety. In addition there are the Mahāyānist bronzes dredged up in tin mines of the Kinta Valley in Perak in Malaya, which may date from roughly the same period.[55] Most of the images, whether discovered on the Siamese or the Malay side of the border, and particularly the best ones, have affinities with Indo-Javanese art or with the bronzes produced for the monastery of Nālandā in Bengal under the patronage of the Pāla and Sena kings (730–1197 A.D.). A bronze Guru figure, discovered a few years ago at Jalong in Perak and tentatively dated to the 11th century, might equally well have been commissioned by a Hindu or a Mahāyāna Buddhist.[56] The religious syncretism prevailing in Java and Cambodia in the 11th century was probably paralleled in the religious life of the Malay Peninsula at that time.[57]

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[51] Wales, *JMBRAS*, vol. XVIII, pt. I (1940), p. 71.

[52] Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions*, vol. II, Inscription XXIII.

[53] Luang Boribal Buribhand and A. B. Griswold, "Sculpture of Peninsular Siam in the Ayuthya Period," *JSS*, vol. XXXVIII, pt. 2 (January, 1952).

[54] Cœdès, *Les collections archéologiques du Musée National du Bangkok*, Plates XV–XVI, and XVII.

[55] Wales, *JMBRAS*, vol. VII, pt. I, Plates: 79, Avalokiteśvara, from Bidor, Perak; 80, Avalokiteśvara from Sungai Siput, Perak; 81, Avalokiteśvara, from Sungai Siput, Perak.

[56] A. Lamb, "Treasure Trove Among the Tapioca," *Malaya in History*, vol. VIII, no. 1 (December, 1962), pp. 11–13; and, A. B. Griswold, "The Jalong Bronze," *FMJ*, vol. VII (1962), pp. 64–66. There is actually some uncertainty about both the style and the very simple iconography of this bronze. Part of the problem resides in the fact that the Brahmin lacks the customary *jaṭāmakuṭa* associated with Guru figures, and there are almost traces of portraiture in the features. It is quite possible that it is not a straight-forward presentation to be seen in terms of Hindu iconography, but, instead, the portrait of an individual who has been deified as Agastya. Both Professor de Casparis and Mr. Griswold have arrived, independently, at the same conclusion. Since expert opinion has not yet resolved the problem of the Jalong bronze, it may be of some interest to point out the visual analogy, in the coiffure and simple adornment, between the Jalong figure and the very similar Brahmin portrayed on the extreme right of relief number XIII at the east Javanese bathing place at Jalatunda. This is the most ancient monument of the East Javanese period of art, and is dated 977 A.D. This monument, according to Dr. Bosch, has political-dynastic significance in the tangled web of tenth century diplomatic relations between Java, Cambodia, and Śrīvijaya. See: F. D. K. Bosch, "The Old Javanese Bathing-Place Jalatunda," reprinted in *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (The Hague, 1961), pp. 49–107; and Plate 13. Dr. O. W. Wolters has explored the configuration of inter-dynastic relationships of this period in connection with Cōḷa raids of the eleventh century. In his reconstruction of events, the eastern Javanese would be the beneficiaries, and possible allies, in the Cōḷa thrust at a Śrīvijaya-Cambodia-Tāmbraliṅga bloc. See: O. W. Wolters, "Tāmbraliṅga," *BSOAS*, vol. XXI, pt. 3 (1958), pp. 596–597.

There is no reason to doubt that the Brahmanical gods were still accorded a position of respect in the Peninsula, just as they have always been in Buddhist Burma and Siam; but it appears that the bulk of official support went into Mahāyānist foundations and statuary, doubtless reflecting the personal preference of the élite and its control of patronage. It is possible, too, that one of the motives of the rulers in encouraging the Mahāyāna was to bring some measure of cultural unity into an area of ethnic diversity.[58] Great quantities of Mahāyānist votive tablets, dating from the 8th or 9th century to the 13th, have been found in limestone caves at widely scattered points in the interior of the isthmian tract, and not confined to religious establishments maintained by the élite in the populous commercial centers on the coast.[59] This pattern of diffusion may suggest that the Mahāyāna had a wide base and considerable social importance.

Three Cōḷa Images

Only three stone images of Hindu gods of later date than the Pra Narâi group have been found on the isthmus. All three are small portable pieces, very close in style to South Indian sculpture of the 10th or 11th century.

Two of them, a Viṣṇu (fig. 32) and a manifestation of Śiva in the guise of Baṭuka-Bhairava (fig. 33), were discovered at Vieng Sra, the same site that yielded the two mitred Viṣṇus of the 6th or 7th century (figs. 15, 16), as well as a small Buddha image, discovered by Dr. Quaritch Wales,[60] which Griswold considers the work of a Peninsular artist working in the Sārnāth tradition in the late 5th or early 6th century.[61]

The discovery of the Buddha image and of figs. 15 and 16 at Vieng Sra suggests that the place was of some importance between the late 5th and the 7th century, while the discovery of figs. 32 and 33 suggests the same thing for the 10th or 11th. It is hard to say what its importance was based on. The site, about twenty miles southwest of Bândòn, would be on the trans-Peninsular route from Takuapā to the settlements on the Bay of Bândòn, so the town may have functioned as a way-station on it; but we have no evidence that this route was of any economic importance as early as the 11th century, not to mention the 6th.

The site itself has yielded little else than the sculptures. Lunet de Lajonquière mapped it in 1909.[62] Quaritch Wales made a survey of it in 1934, which confirmed the general accuracy of

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[57] Cœdès, *The Indianized States ...*, p. 146.

[58] Inscriptions of 1183 and 1230 found at Jaiyā are in the Khmer language but they are written in a script which is foreign in Khmer paleography. The first seems to be written in a Sumatran-like script while the second has affinities with a Javanese script. George Cœdès, "Le royaume de Çrīvijaya," *BEFEO*, vol. VIII, no. 6 (1918), pp. 33–34. Pierre Dupont remarked that Khmer may have been the language of diplomacy, in an area marked by a variety of languages and ethnic groups. See: *BEFEO*, vol. XLI (1942), p. 106. G. Cœdès, "Siamese Votive Tablets," *JSS*, vol. 20. 1 (1926), pp. 1–25.

[59] The tablets under reference are those of Mahāyāna iconography which Cœdès classified as type II. Cœdès's suggestion of a tenth century date for this type may be somewhat conservative. Mr. Boisselier has drawn attention to the similarities between the tablets and Indo-Javanese sculpture of the seventh to the ninth centuries. See: Boisselier, *La Statuaire du Champa*, p. 83.

[60] Wales, *IAL*, vol. IX, Plate V.

[61] Griswold, "Imported Images and the Nature of Copying in the Art of Siam", *Essays Offered to G. H. Luce*, II, p. 62f. and fig, 22.

[62] Lajonquière, *BCAIC*, 1912, pp. 139–144, and fig. 29.

Lajonquière's plan.[63] The area of the old settlement is bounded on the south and east sides by a narrow moat and a mound, and on the other sides by a lake and a stream. Both Wales and Lajonquière concluded that the only ancient site within the enclosure was at a point in the very center of the area. Wales cleared the site at this point and cut several trenches. He found the brick base of what he considered to be a small shrine. There was no pottery present other than local earthenware.[64]

Figs. 32 and 33 are both about 20 inches high and made of sandstone. Dr. Wales ascribed them to the 8th century or earlier.[65] As they appear to be closely related to the Cōḷa art of the 10th and 11th centuries, this dating seems to be in need of revision.

The Bhairava (fig. 33) wears a *vanamālā*, a long string of bells, reaching down almost to the ankles in the fashion found from Early Cōḷa times onward.[66] The aureole of hair fanning out from the head is characteristic of Early Cōḷa figures of Bhairava. According to one authority this hair style indicates a date between 850 and 1000.[67] A similar hair style is worn by some images found in a temple built during the reign of the Cōḷa king Paranataka I (907–955).[68] A rather close analogy with fig. 33 may be seen in an image excavated in Ceylon, which dates from the period of Cōḷa occupation of the island (993–1070).[69]

Fig. 32 was apparently carved by the same sculptor as fig. 33. Both have the same sharply beveled planes in the articulation of facial features; in both, there is the same over-all linear and essentially graphic presentation; in both, the sculptor has confined his modification of the surface to a system of linear patterns in relief, rendered in part by rows of small knobs. While there is a purely descriptive reason for rendering the *vanamālā* of Bhairava in fig. 33 in this manner, the tail of the dog that stands behind him, as well as several other portions of the same sculpture, are in part rendered in similar fashion. The same sort of knobs are deployed on the surface of the Viṣṇu image (fig. 32), in the *kirītamukuṭa*, the necklace *(hāra)*, the bracelets *(kaṅkana)*, the spiral sash-form at the right hip, and so on. Besides these similarities of treatment, the iconography of fig. 32 agrees well enough with our ascription of a Cōḷa date to fig. 33. One indication of post-Pallava date in fig. 32 is furnished by Viṣṇu's attributes, the *śankha* and the *cakra*, which are displayed frontally rather than edgewise, and perched on two upraised fingers;[70] another is the sinuously-curving *yajñopavīta*, composed of three strands.[71] The post-Pallava features visible in both figs. 32 and 33 suggest that there is no further reason for acepting the date proposed by Dr. Wales. Tentatively, until they are studied by a specialist on South Indian art, both may be ascribed to the 10th or 11 century.

The third image to be discussed is a small Sūrya found at Jaiyā (fig. 34), which has apparently not been previously published. It is about 26 inches high, and carved in a reddish stone. The feet are missing, but the anklets show that the figure was not wearing boots. North Indian images of Sūrya usually wear boots; and in Pāla and Sena art this god is generally represented in relief against a stela, which is often crowded with accessory figures.[72] In South India, by way of contrast, Sūrya usually stands barefoot on a pedestal, without attendants, and with his hands raised in front of his chest—all of which is, or was, true of fig. 34. There is sufficient correspondence between this image and an early Cōḷa bronze of the 11th century in the Madras Museum to indicate a similar date.[73]

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[63] *IAL*, vol. IX, pp. 17–19.
[64] *Ibid.*
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] James C. Harle, *Temple Gateways in South India* (Oxford, 1963), footnote no. 1, p. 118.
[67] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Protector of the Mountain of Truth," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XX, Pt. I, p. 15.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, 1960, Pl. 1 A and B, and pp. 74–75.
[70] Sivaramamurti, *Ancient India*, no. 6, p. 24.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

The presence of figs. 32–34 on the isthmian tract of the Malay Peninsula where they were discovered should be associated with the continuum of cultural and commercial relations that existed for many centuries between the isthmus and the Coromandel coast of India.[74] The commercial relationships were well structured in the entrepôt trading centers of the 9th century, as the Takuapā inscription demonstrates. With the steady volume of international trade geared to the demands of the Sung dynasty,[75] these contacts must have intensified. We know, from the inscription of Loboe Toewa in Sumatra, that one of the great Indian merchant guilds was operating at that place in 1088 A.D.[76] Professor Sastri conjectures that the Tamils of Loboe Toewa may have erected a temple like those of South India of the Cōḷa period and placed inscriptions on its walls.[77] We have already noted the activities of the Maṇigrāmam at Takuapā.

Certain events which occurred between the erection of the 9th-century inscription at Takuapā and that of the Loboe Toewa inscription in 1088 illustrate the importance of the economic contacts of which those two inscriptions are symptomatic. The temple built by Śrīvijaya at the port of Negapatam in 1005 was doubtless intended to serve the Śrīvijayan trading community there, but it may also have been an instrument of diplomacy.[78] It would be an advantage, perhaps even a strategic imperative, to neutralize the growing sea power of the Cōḷas, so that Śrīvijaya could allocate its resources effectively in its prolonged struggle against Java. The Cōḷas, on the other hand, must already have been restive under the continuing commercial impositions and monopolistic practices of Śrīvijaya. In any event they sent their first mission to China in 1015, perhaps signalling their interest in a greater role in the developing Sung maritime trade. Two years later they may have launched a raid on Śrīvijaya.[79] In 1025 Rājendra Cōḷa sent a force to attack the capital of Śrīvijaya and many of its Peninsular possessions. Having made his point, he apparently withdrew his forces without attempting to impose a territorial administration.[80] According to a South Indian inscription, Vīrarājendra conquered Kaḍāram around 1068 A.D. on behalf of a king who sought his aid and protection.[81] This event remains obscure, and there is no reason to believe that it was anything more than a passing affair. The tangled international rivalries on the isthmian tract between the 11th and the 13th centuries could hardly fail to involve the interests of Ceylon, Burma and Cambodia. Eventually relations between Śrīvijaya and the Cōḷas returned to a more orderly pattern. This we gather from the smaller Leiden Grant of the Cōḷa king Kulottuṅga I (r. 1070–1120), which records the arrival of two ambassadors from Śrīvijaya around 1090, who were given a copper-plate containing the names of the villages granted by the Cōḷa kings to the Buddhist temple at Negapatam.[82]

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[72] Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 439.

[73] Illustrated in Sivaramamurti, *Indian Bronzes*, pl. 39.

[74] N.K. Sastri, "Kataha," *JGIS*, vol. V, Pt. 2 (1938), pp. 128–146.

[75] During the eleventh century, the Sung dynasty became increasingly dependent on the profits from maritime commerce, and made efforts to stimulate the level of international commercial activity. See: Paul Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on Some Commodities Involved in Sung Maritime Trade," *JMBRAS*, vol. XXXII, pt. 2 (June, 1959) pp. 1–140, and, especially, the table on p. 24, illustrating the growth in revenue derived from maritime trade from the founding of the Sung dynasty in 960 to 1189 A.D.

[76] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, "A Tamil Merchant Guild in Sumatra," *Tijdschrift*, Deel LXXII (1932), pp. 314–327.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 326.

[78] Ayer, "The Larger Leiden Plates," *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXII, p. 229.

[79] R.C. Majumdar, "The Overseas Expeditions of King Rājendra Cola," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXIV, pts. 3/4, pp. 338–342. Majumdar's interpretation is disputed by Sastri, who considers that Rājendra launched only one raid, that of the fourteenth year of his reign, which would be 1025 A.D.

[80] Sastri, *The Colas*, pp. 218–220.

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 271–272; Wolters, *BSOAS*, vol. 21.3 (1958), pp. 587–607; David K. Wyatt and John Bastin, "Mainland Powers on the Malay Peninsula, A.D. 1000–1500," Paper presented to the International Conference on Asian History, 5–10 August 1968, University of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.

The memory of the Cōḷa Empire survived long after the empire itself disappeared. According to Chinese sources the Kings of Siam associated themselves with the past glories of the Cōḷa kings.[83] The isthmian people, in their turn, may have had some impact on South India. Standing images of the Buddha with the two hands performing separate gestures, which occur in the arts of Dvāravatī and Śrīvijaya around the 8th or 9th century though unknown in India at that time, occur later on among the Negapatam bronzes;[84] and a monk who was active in the reform of Buddhism in South India in the 12th century appears to have had some connection with Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja.[85]

In this context figs. 32, 33 and 34 provide further evidence of the close and continuing contacts between the isthmus and South India in Cōḷa times. While it is possible that these images were carried to the isthmus by Cōḷa raiders, it seems much more likely that Indian merchants, possibly middlemen in the lucrative trade in gharu-wood, commissioned them for their own temple, just as Indian merchants did at Chʻuan-chou and at Pagán in the 12th and 13th centuries; or else they may have been made for the community of Brahmins who lived in these city-states like the Brahmins who performed rituals for the rulers of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja in the 19th century, and whose descendants still live there.[86] These images, wherever they may have been made, are stylistically a product of Indian art, not isthmian. After the 8th century, so far as we can tell on present evidence, the Hindu gods were no longer a primary concern of the isthmian sculptors.

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[82] Cœdès, *The Indianized States ...*, p. 158.

[83] Paul Pelliot, "Encore à propos des voyages de Tcheng Houo," *T'oung Pao*, vol. XXXII, pt. 4 (1936), pp. 216–217.

[84] Dupont, *L'Archéologie mône*, p. 184, and footnote no. 1.

[85] S. Paranavitana, "Negapatam and Theravāda Buddhism in South India," *JGIS*, vol. XI, pp. 17–25.

[86] *JRASMB*, vol. XXXII. There is a line of inscription on a piece of granite at Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja (see Chapter I, footnote 28) and, according to Mrs. Devahuti, a bronze Ganeśa has been discovered there with a Tamil inscription: *India and Ancient Malaya* (Singapore, 1965), p. 59.

* After this book had gone to press, it was learned that thieves had recently carried off the heads of the three statues in the tree at Takuapā. The remaining fragments of the statues have been removed to the regional office of the Department of Fine Arts at Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja.

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AA: Arts Asiatiques. Musée Guimet, Paris

AAS: Artibus Asiae. Ascona

ADM: Archéologie du delta du Mekong, 3 Vols, by L. Malleret. Paris, 1959–1960

BEFEO: Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient. Paris

BCAI: Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indo-Chine. Paris

Bijdragen: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. The Hague

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. London

EA: Etudes asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du vingt-cinquième anniversaire de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2 Vols. Van Oest, Paris, 1925

EI: Epigraphia Indica. New Delhi

FEQ: Far Eastern Quarterly. New York. After September, 1956, known as *The Journal of Asian Studies*

FMJ: Federation Museums Journal. Kuala Lumpur

IAL: Indian Art and Letters. London

JA: Journal Asiatique. Paris

JAS: Journal of Asian Studies. Ann Arbor, Michigan

JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society. New Haven, Connecticut

JASB: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta

JFMSM: Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums, Taiping and Kuala Lumpur.

JMBRAS: Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Singapore

JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. London

JRASMB: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch, Kuala Lumpur

JSS: Journal of the Siam Society. Bangkok

MJTG: The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography. Singapore

OA: Oriental Art. London

OZ: Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. Berlin

RAA: Revue des Arts Asiatiques. Musée Guimet, Paris

SMJ: Sarawak Museum Journal. Kuching

TBG: Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitgeven door het Koninklijk Batavia-asch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia, 's Gravenhage

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Fig. 1
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found at Jaiyā,
southern Thailand.
Bangkok Museum

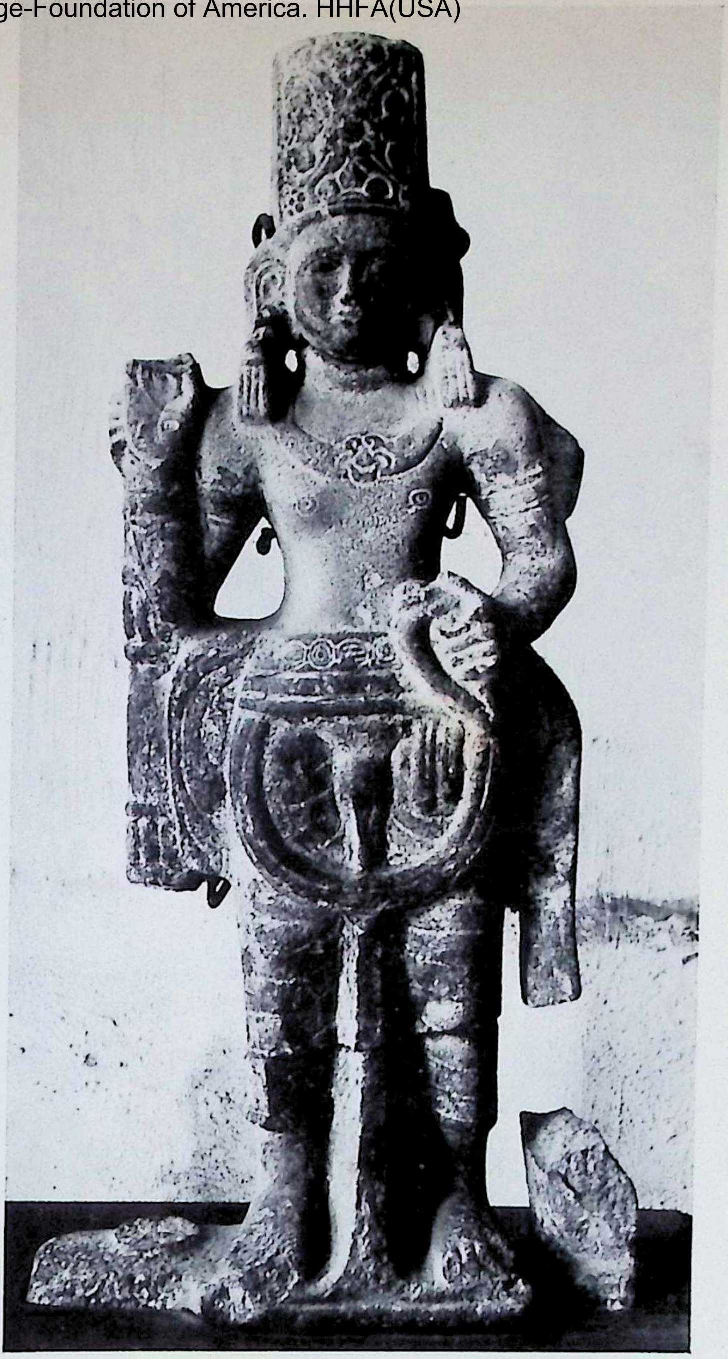


Fig. 1a Front

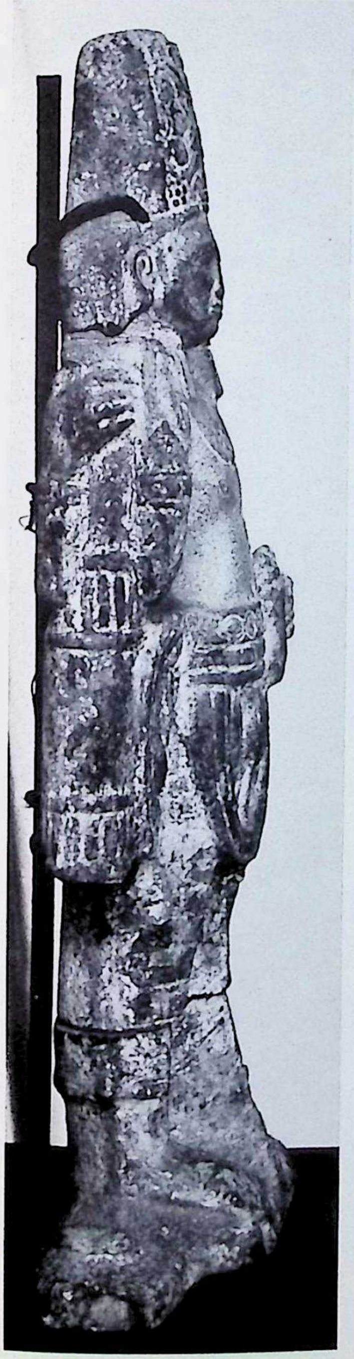


Fig. 1b Side

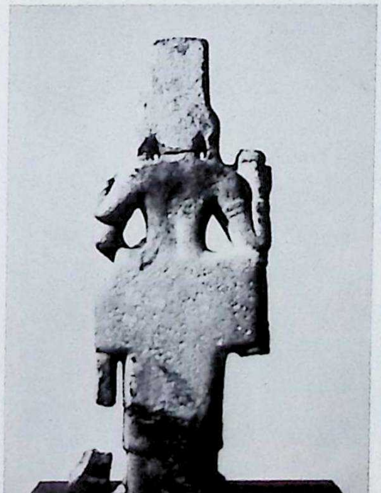


Fig. 1c Rear

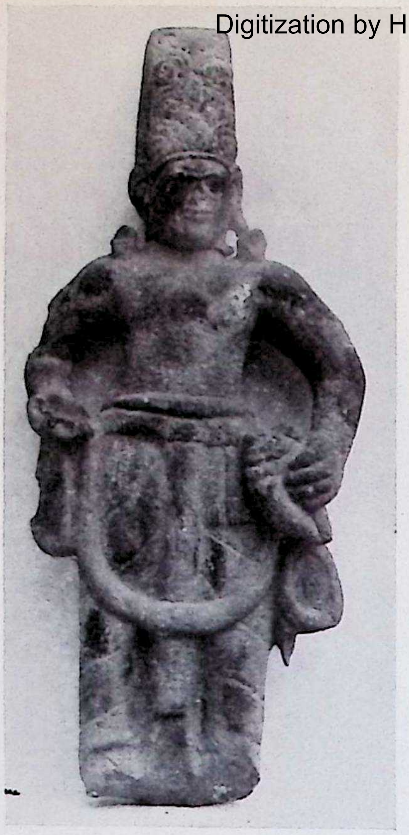


Fig. 2
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found at Nagara Śrī
Dharmarāja (Ligor).
Wat Mahādhātu, Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja

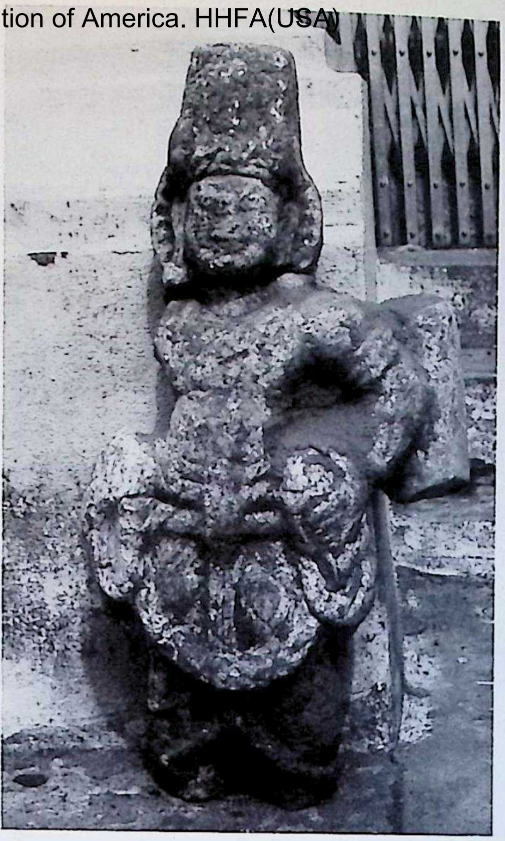


Fig. 3
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found at Nagara Śrī
Dharmarāja (Ligor).
Wat Mahādhātu, Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja

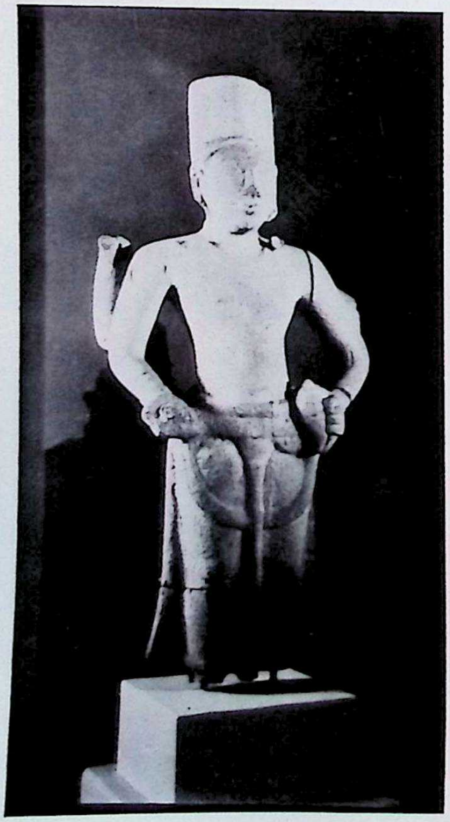


Fig. 4
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found at Oc-Eo, South
Vietnam. *National Museum, Saigon*

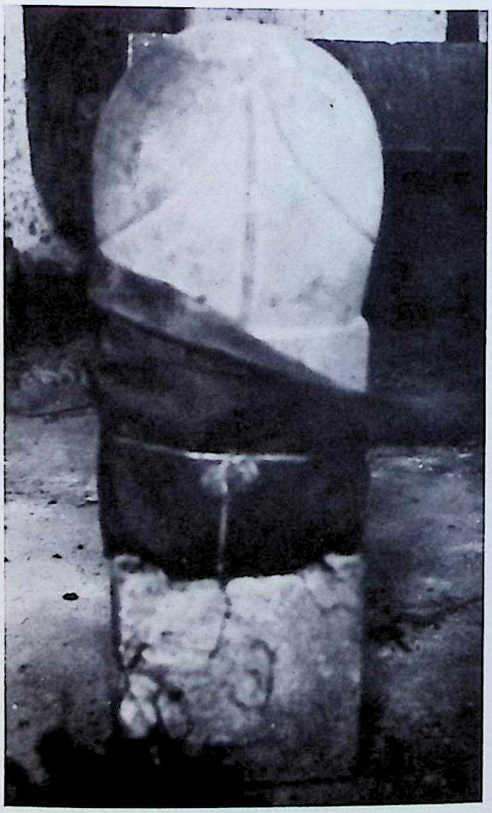


Fig. 5
Liṅga.
Stone. Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja

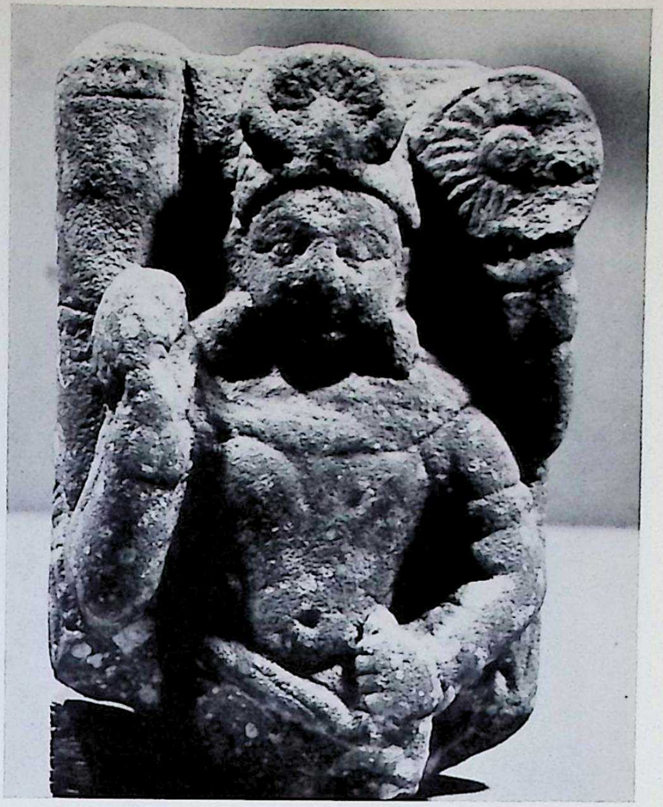


Fig. 6
Viṣṇu. Stone. From Raniwala Well at Palikhera,
Mathurā, India. Kuṣāṇa Period.
Mathurā Museum (accession register No. 933)

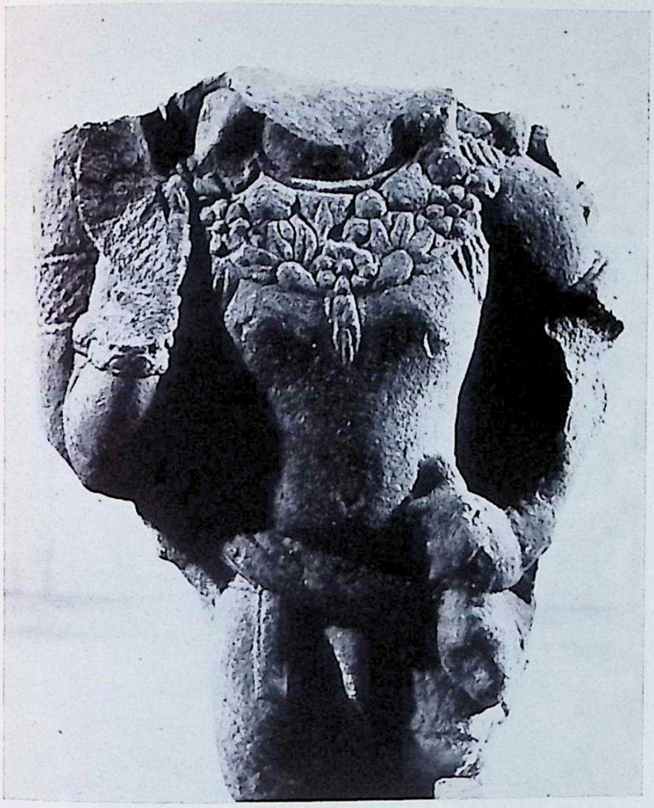


Fig. 7
Viṣṇu. Found near Mathurā. Kuṣāṇa Period.
Mathurā Museum (accession register No. 1729)

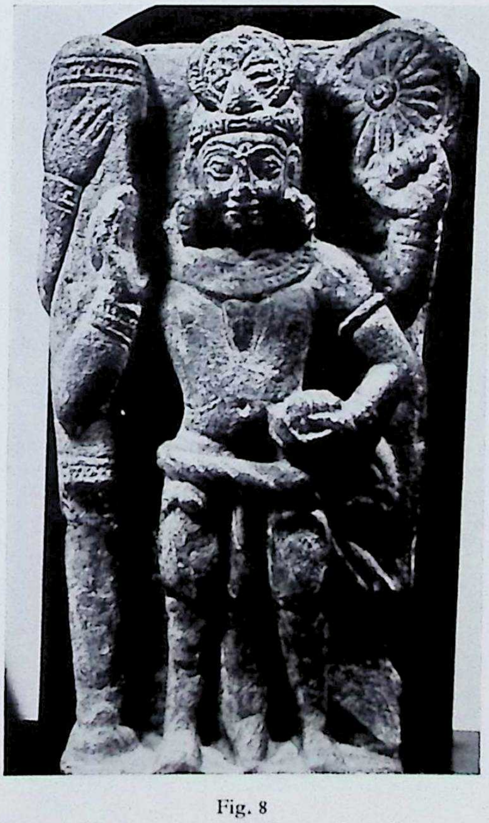


Fig. 8
Viṣṇu. Stone. Early Kuṣāṇa Period.
Mathurā Museum

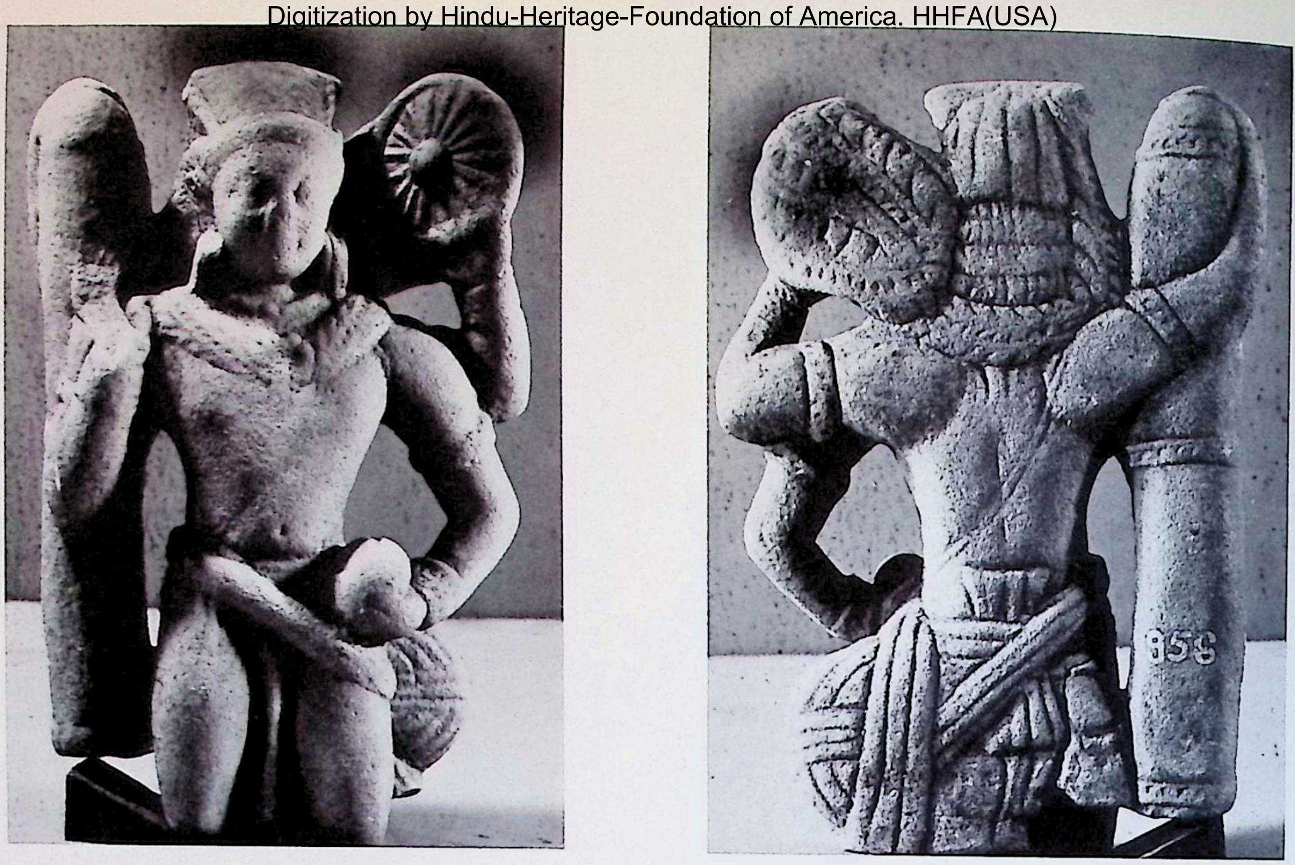


Fig. 9a Front

Fig. 9b Rear

Fig. 9
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found in a well at Baghichal Birhal near Mathurā.
Kuṣāṇa Period. *Mathurā Museum* (accession register No. 956)

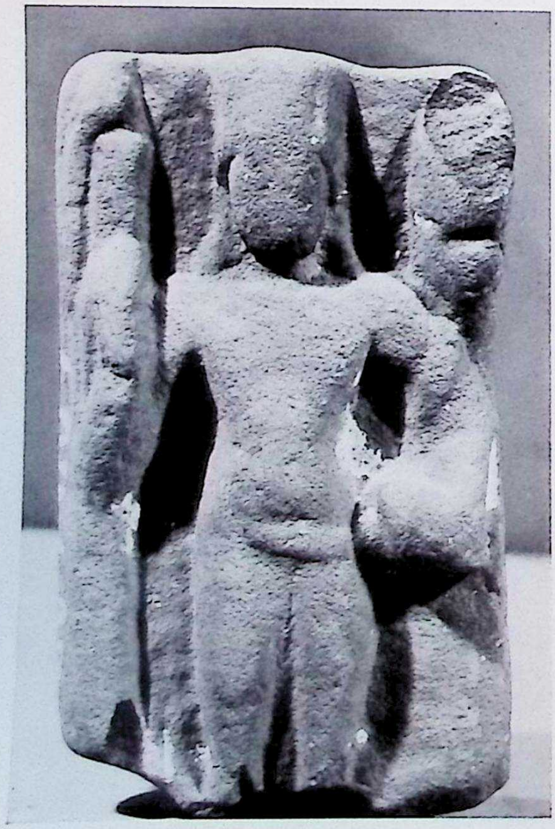


Fig. 10
Viṣṇu. Stone. Late Kuṣāṇa Period.
Mathurā Museum

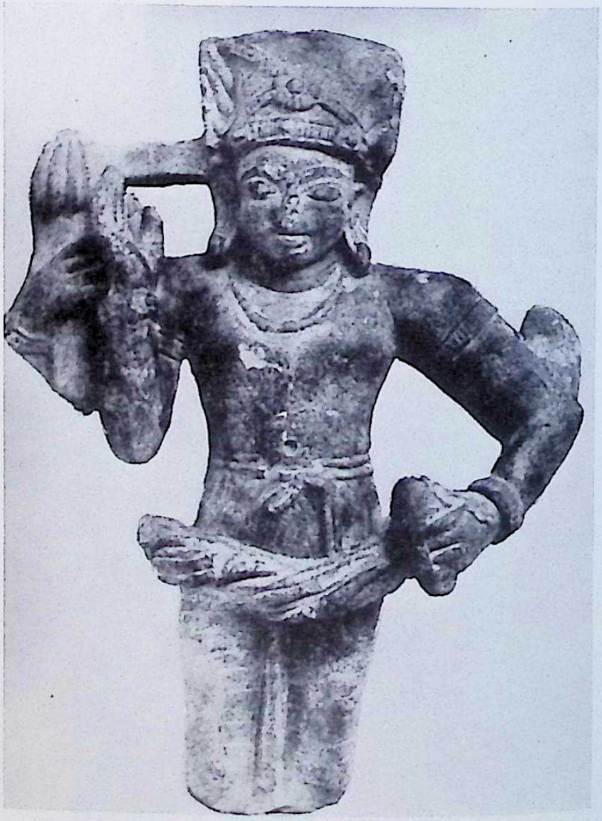


Fig. 11
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found at Bhinmāl, Gujarat. *Baroda Museum*.
Photograph from:
Bulletin of Baroda Museum, Vol. XII (1955–1956)

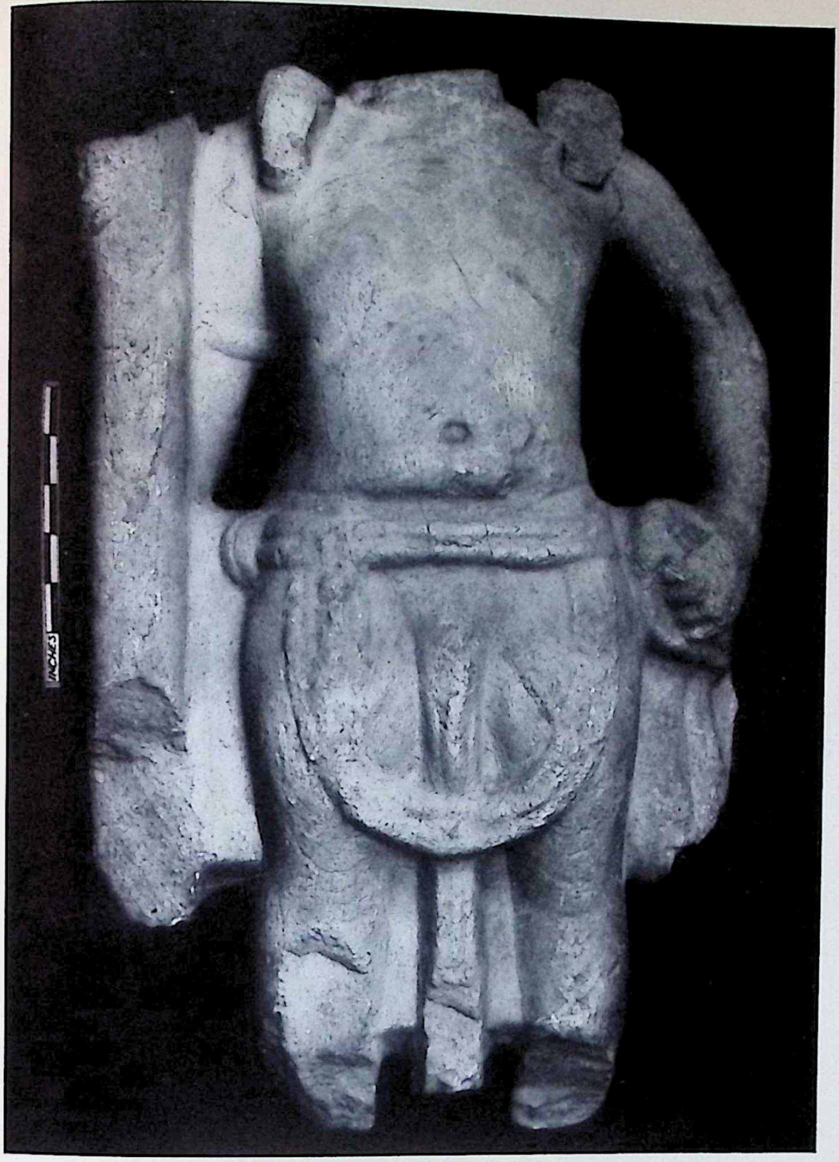
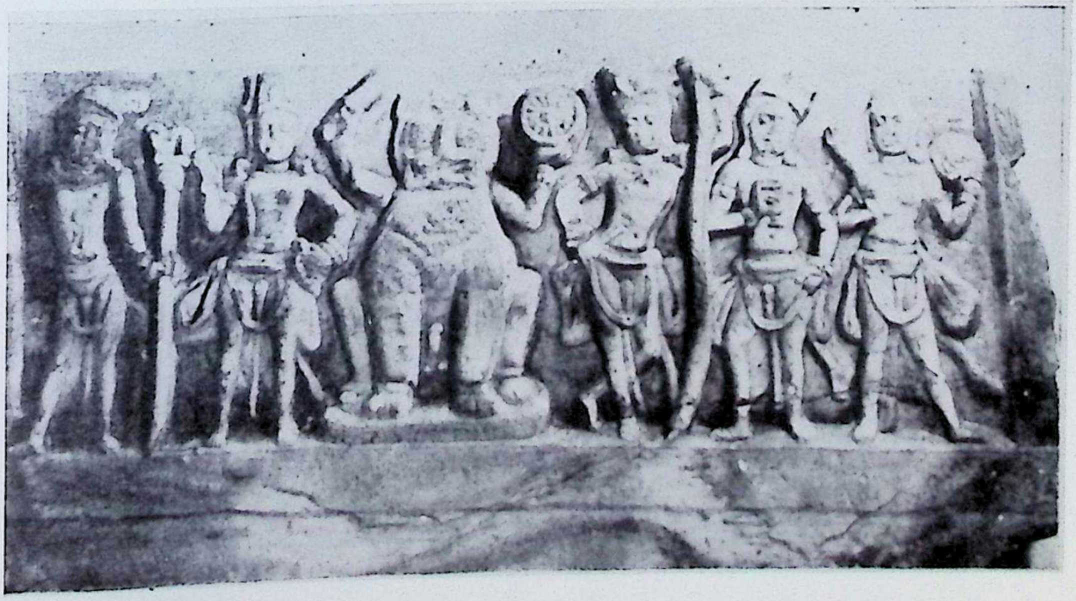


Fig. 12
Viṣṇu. Stone. Excavated at Yēlēśwaram,
Andhra Pradesh India.
4th or 5th century A.D.
Photograph: M. A. W. Khan

Fig. 13
Narasiṁha Relief. From Coastal,
Andhra Pradesh. 3rd century A.D.
(After M. W. Khan)



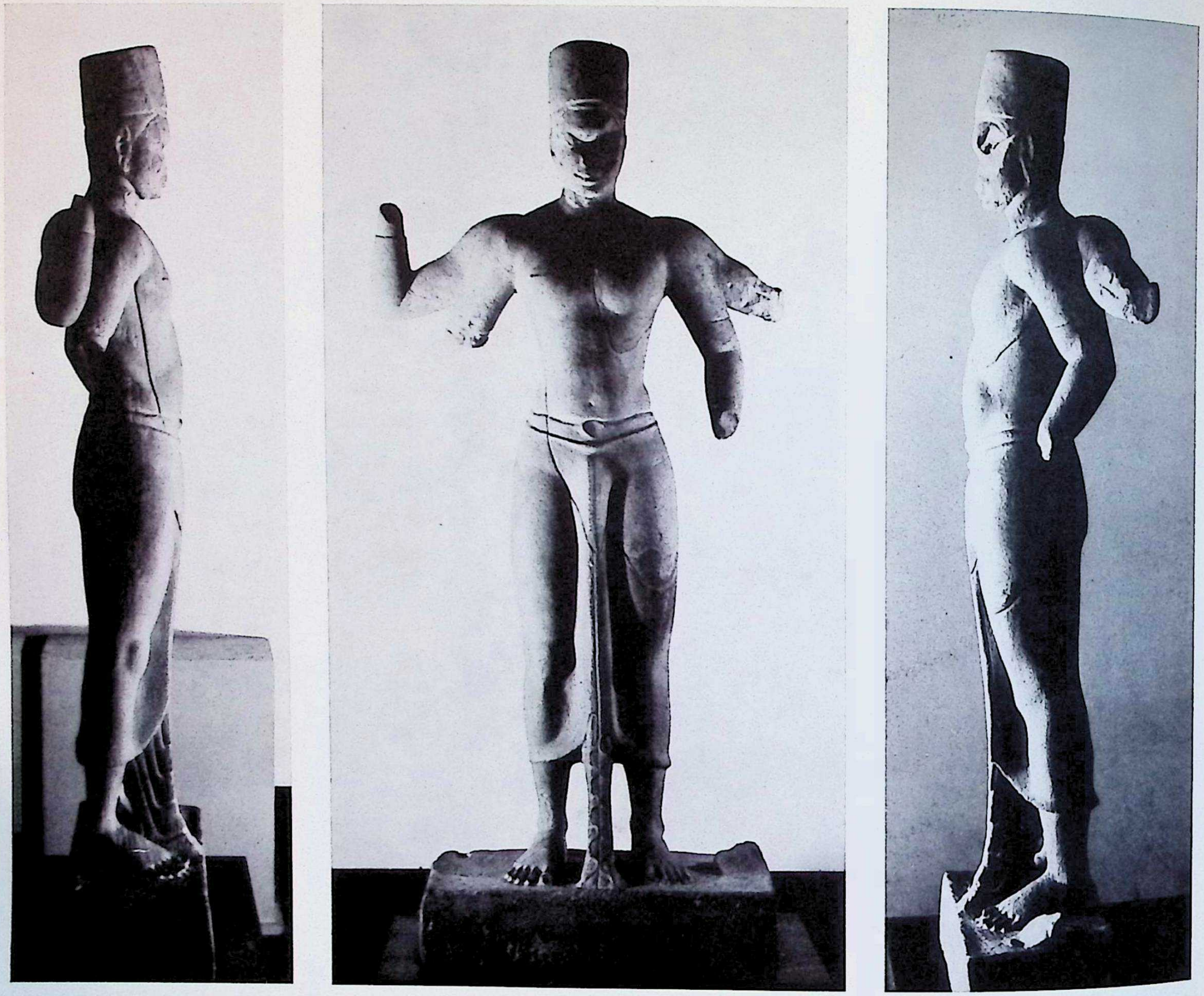


Fig. 14b Side

Fig. 14a Front

Fig. 14c Rear

Fig. 14
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found at Takuapā, Thailand.
Bangkok Museum

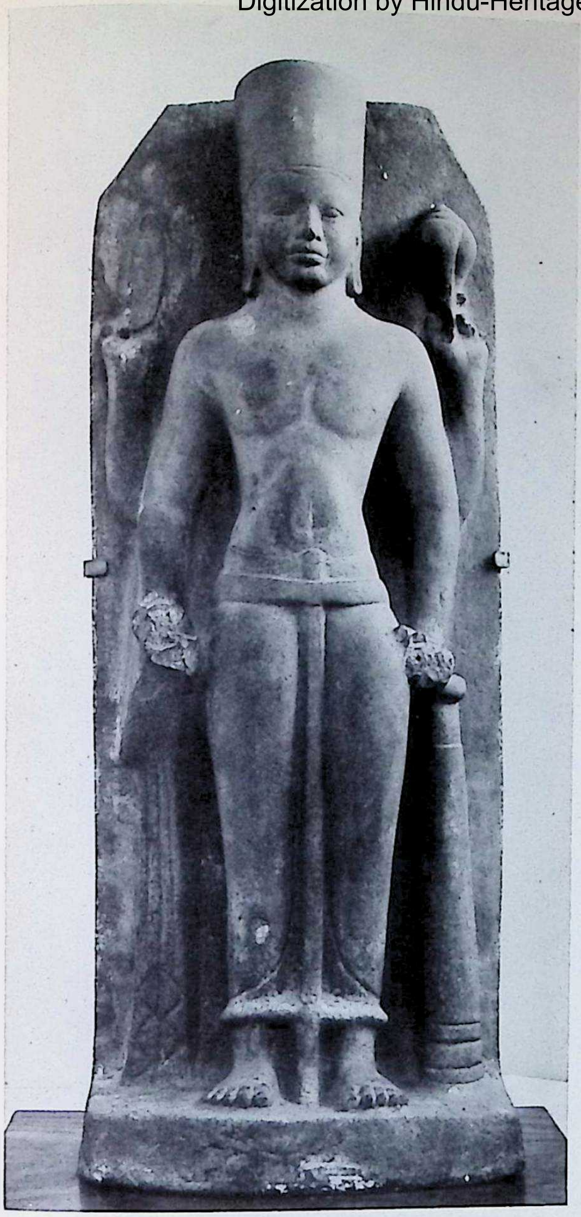


Fig. 15a Front

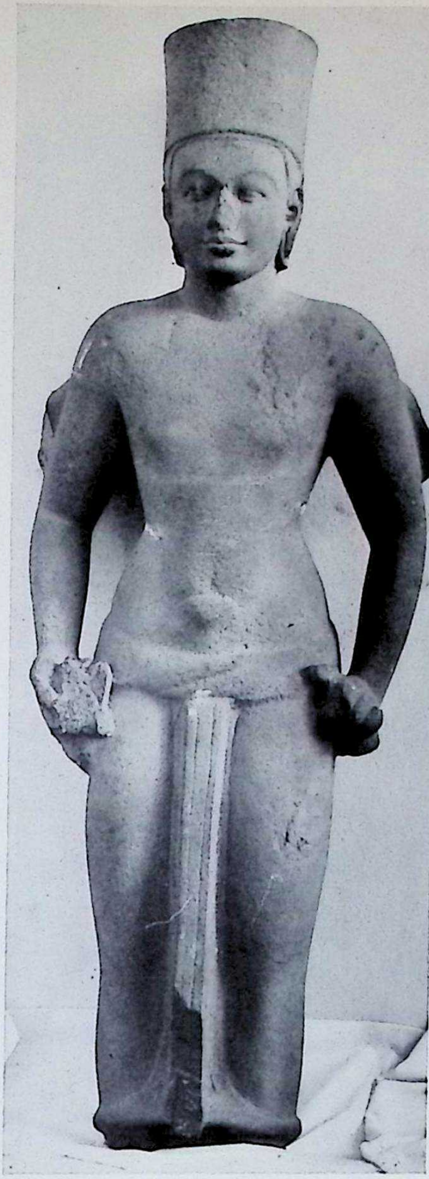


Fig. 16a Front

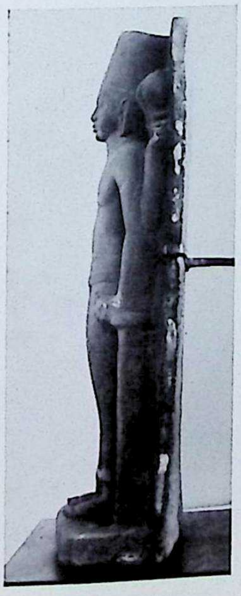


Fig. 15b Side

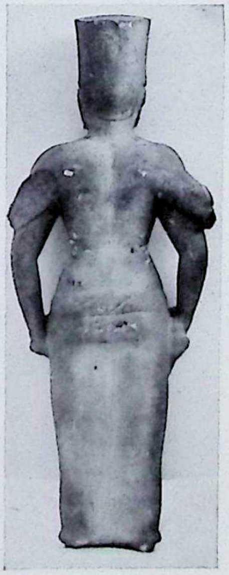


Fig. 16b Rear

Fig. 15
Viṣṇu I. Stone. Found at Vieng Sra, Thailand.
Bangkok Museum

Fig. 16
Viṣṇu II. Stone. Found at Vieng Sra, Thailand.
Bangkok Museum

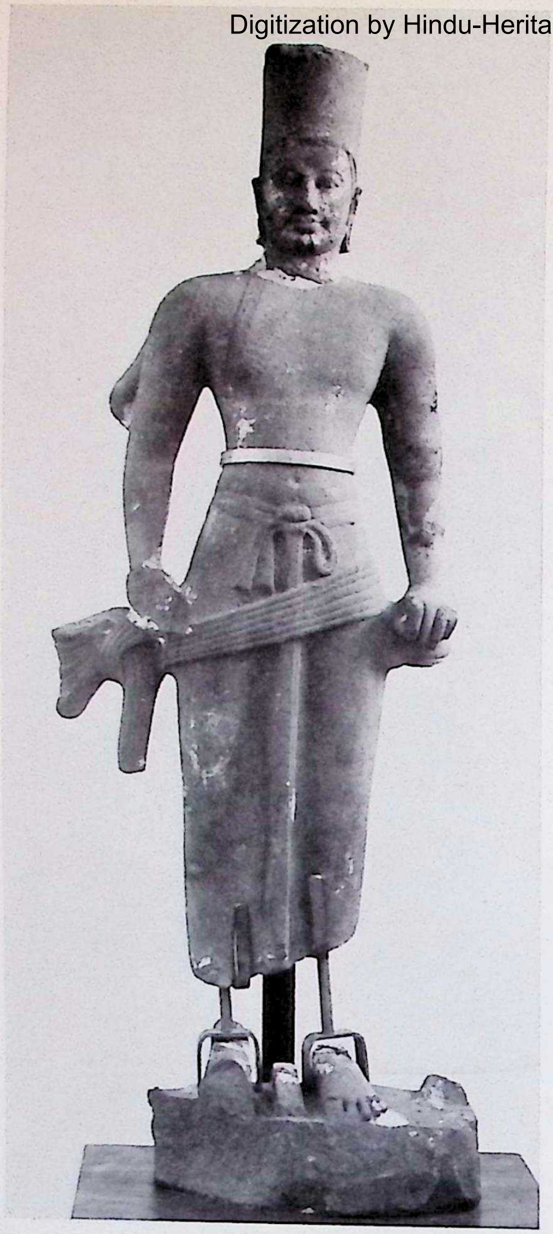


Fig. 17a Front

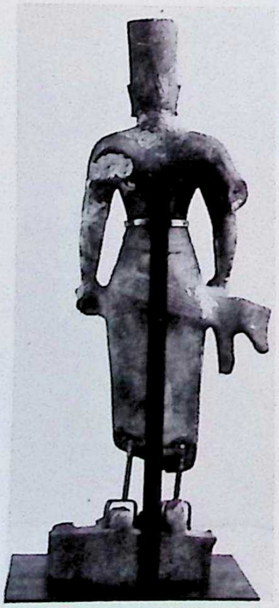


Fig. 17b Rear

Fig. 17
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found at Śrīvijaya Hill, Surāṣṭradhānī, Thailand. *Bangkok Museum*

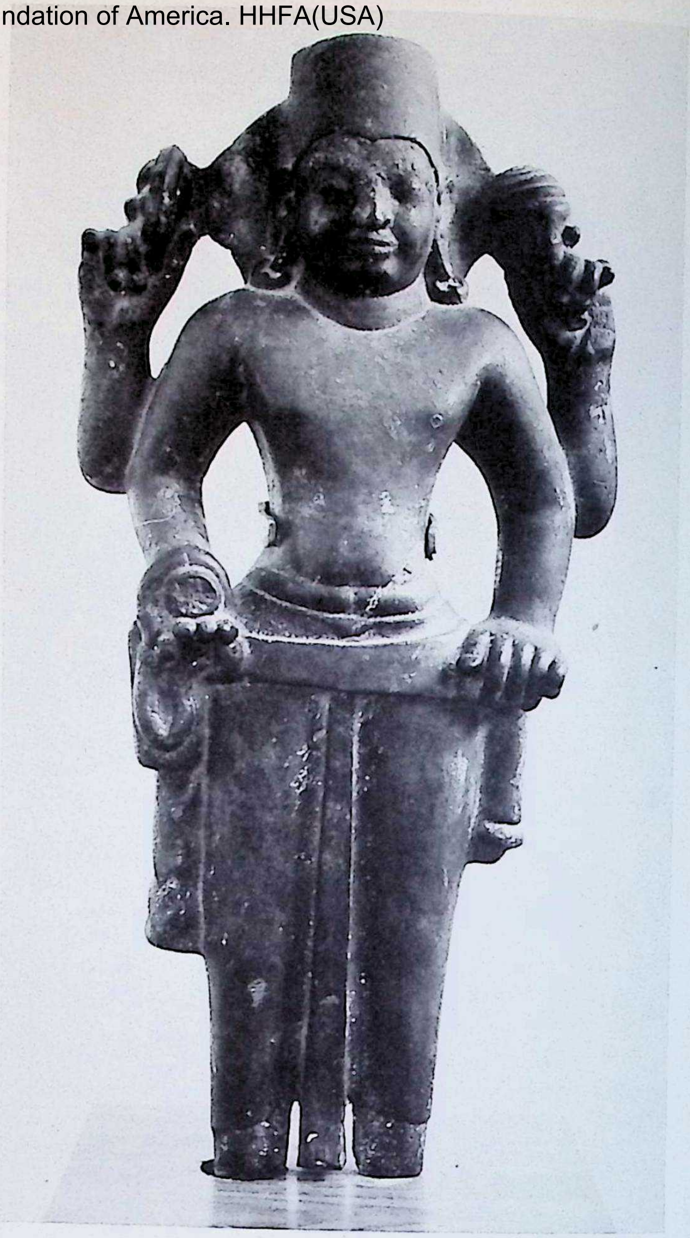


Fig. 18a Front

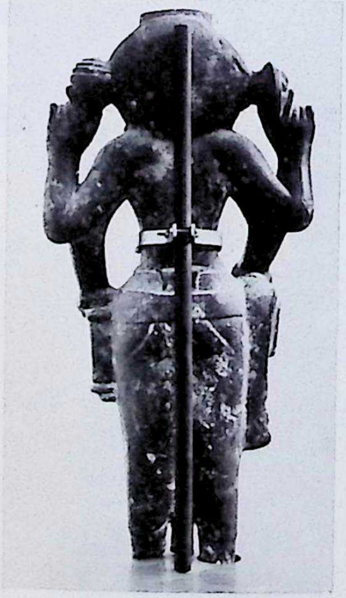


Fig. 18b Rear

Fig. 18
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found at Sating Pra, Thailand. *Bangkok Museum*

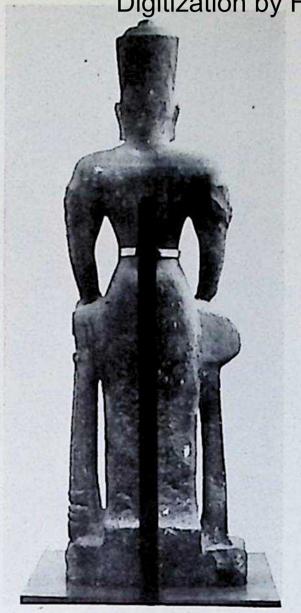


Fig. 19b Rear

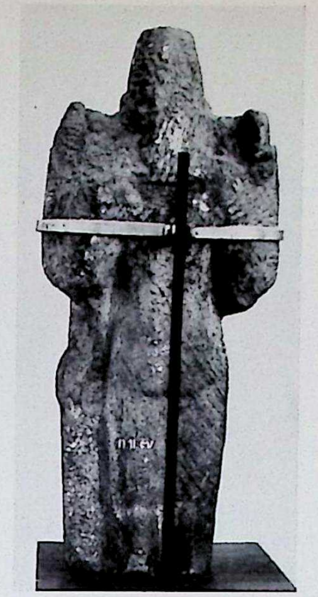


Fig. 20b

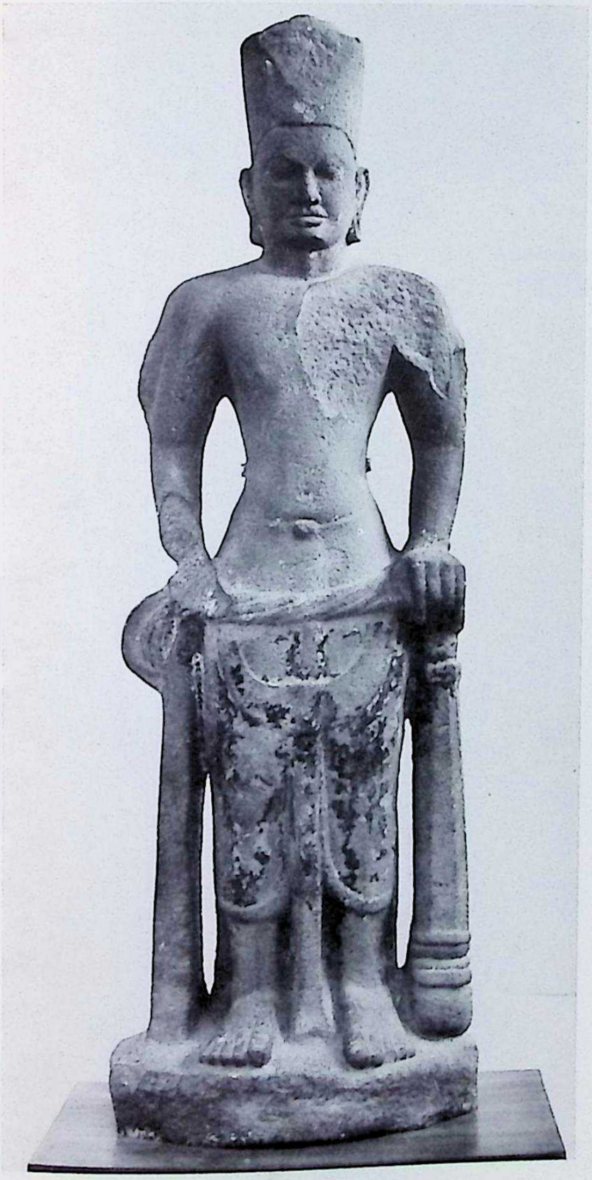


Fig. 19a Front

Fig. 19
Viṣṇu I. Stone. Found at Petburi (Bejrapurī), Thailand.
Bangkok Museum

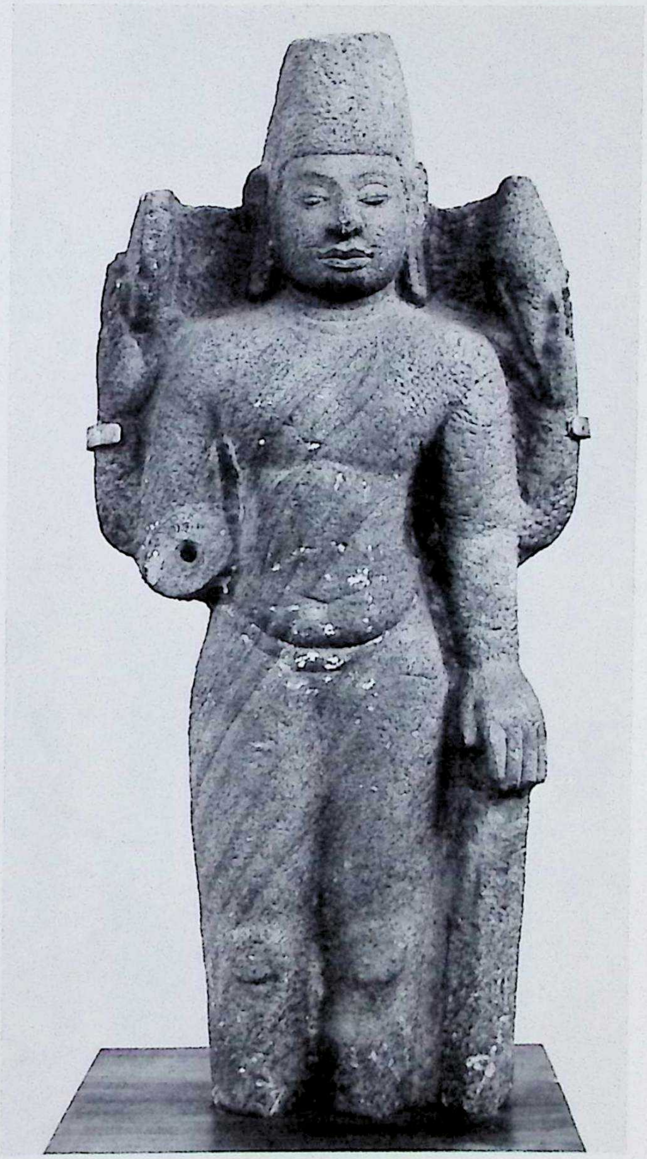


Fig. 20a

Fig. 20
Viṣṇu II. Stone. Found at Petburī, Thailand.
Bangkok Museum

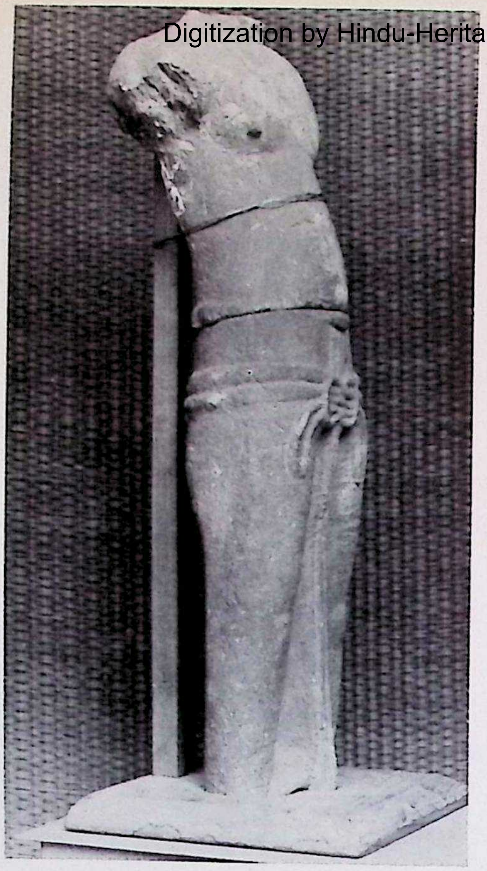


Fig. 21 b Side

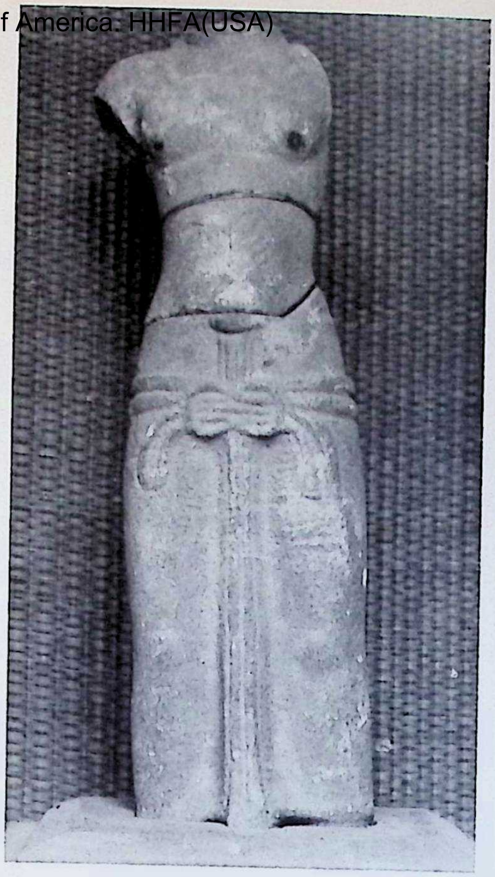


Fig. 21 a Front

Fig. 21
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found at Sating Pra, Thailand.
Wat Majjhimāvāsa, Songklâ.

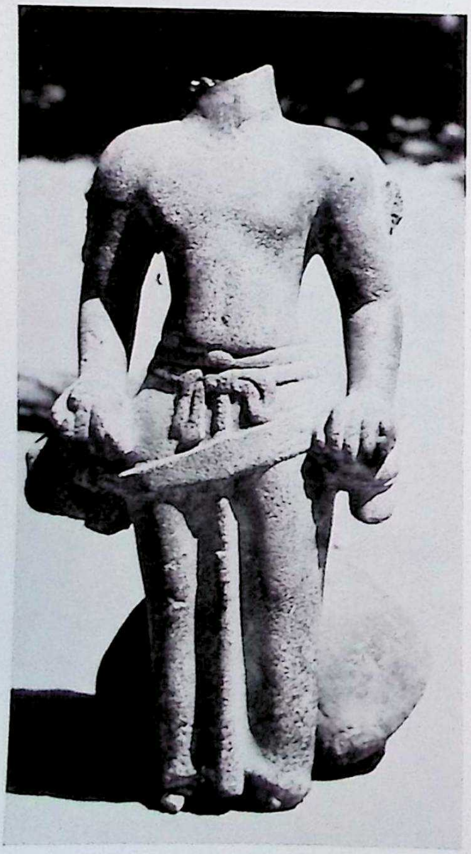


Fig. 23 a Front

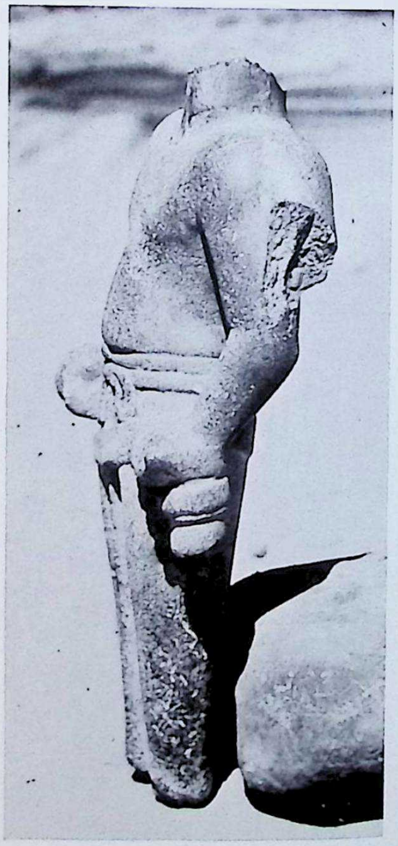


Fig. 23 b Side

Fig. 23
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found near Wat Śrīvijaya, Hua Kao village,
Pun Pin district, Surāṣṭradhāni, Thailand.
Photograph: A. B. Griswold

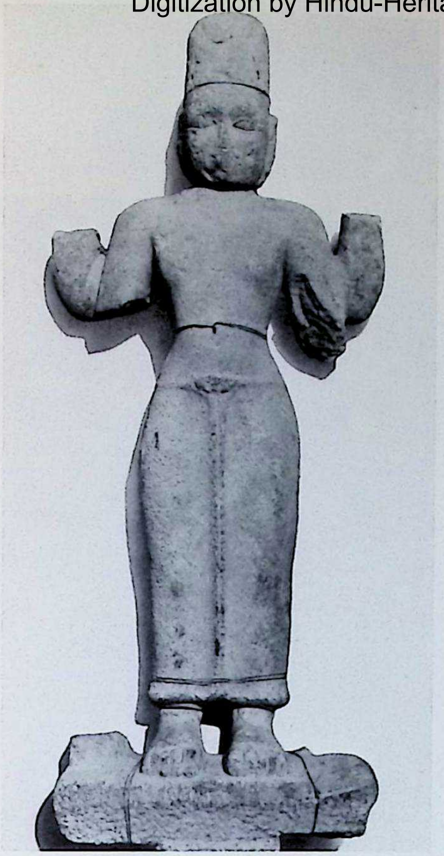


Fig. 22
Viṣṇu. Stone.
Found at Sichon, Thailand.
Private Collection, Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja

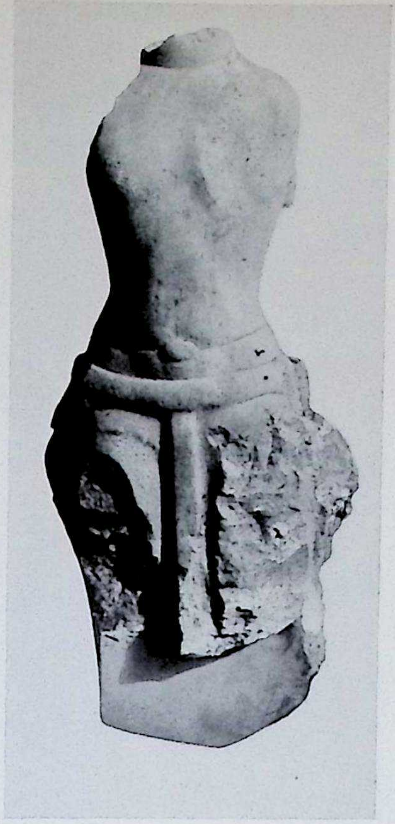


Fig. 25
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found near Wat Śrīvijaya,
Hua Kao village, Pun Pin district,
Surāṣṭradhāni. Photograph: A. B. Griswold

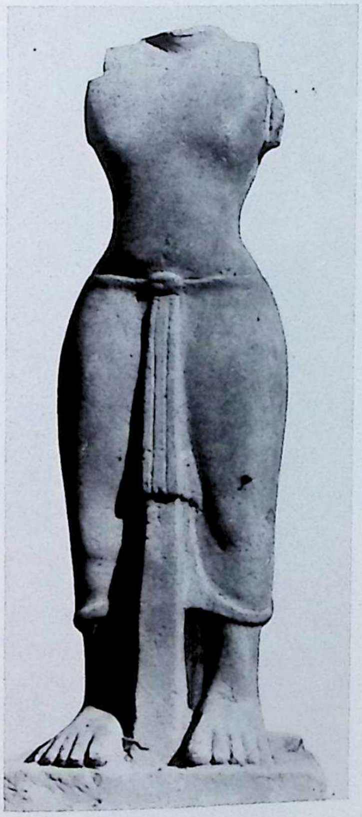


Fig. 24a Front

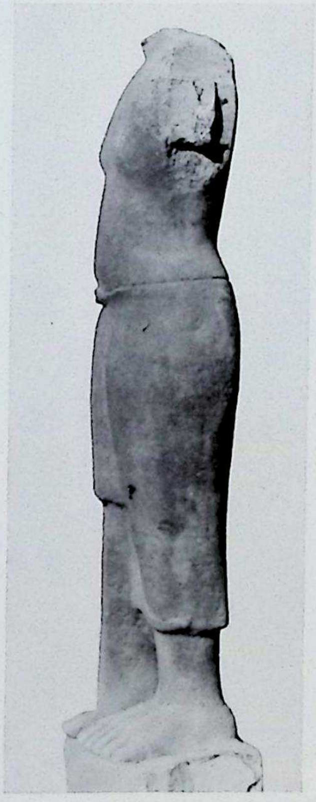


Fig. 24b Side

Fig. 24
Viṣṇu. Stone. Found near Wat Śrīvijaya, Hua Kao village, Pun Pin district,
Surāṣṭradhāni, Thailand. Photograph: A. B. Griswold

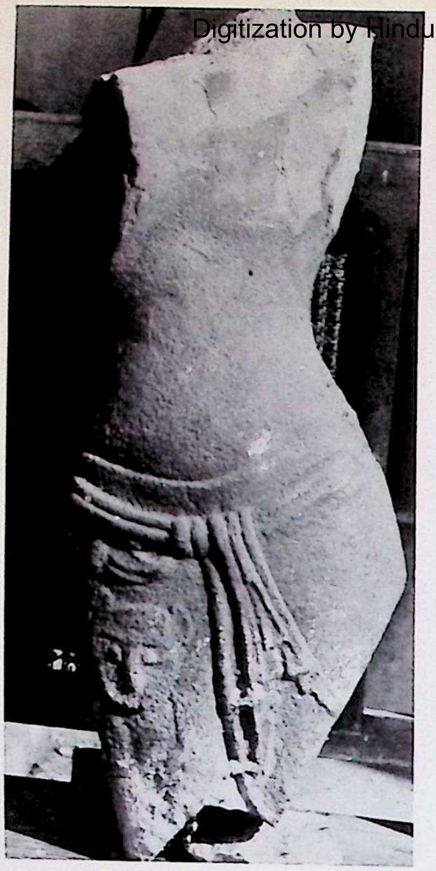


Fig. 26a Front

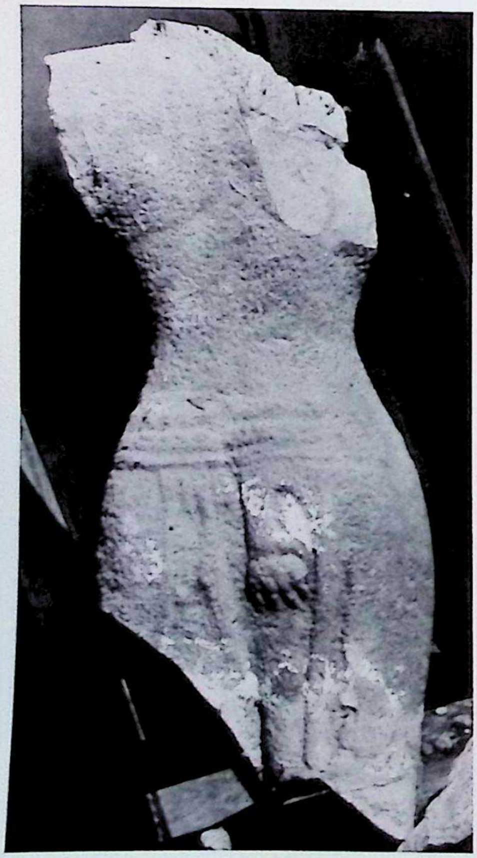


Fig. 26b Rear

Fig. 26
Unidentified Figure. Stone. Found near Wat Śrīvijaya, Hua Kao village, Pun Pin district, Surāṣṭradhāni. Photograph: A. B. Griswold

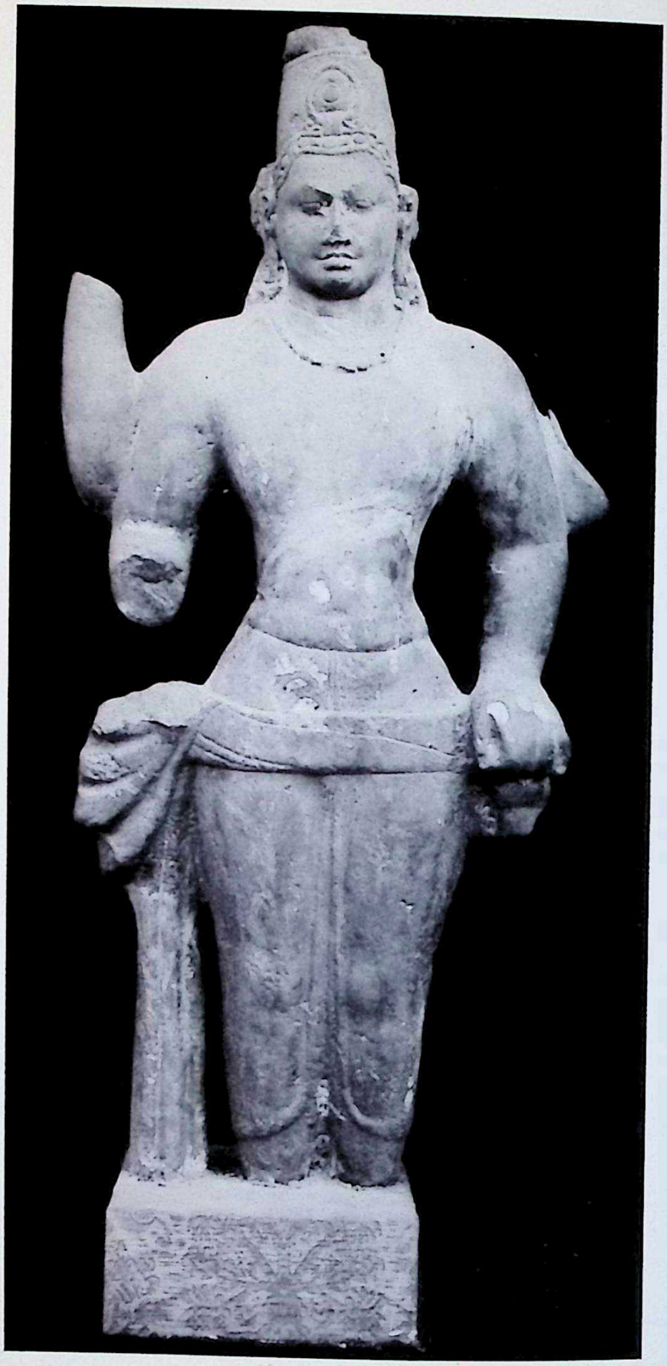


Fig. 27
Viṣṇu. Stone. *Collection of H. R. H. Prince Chalermpol Dighambara.* Bangkok.
Photograph from: *Exhibition of Masterpieces from Private Collections, National Museum, Bangkok.* 1968

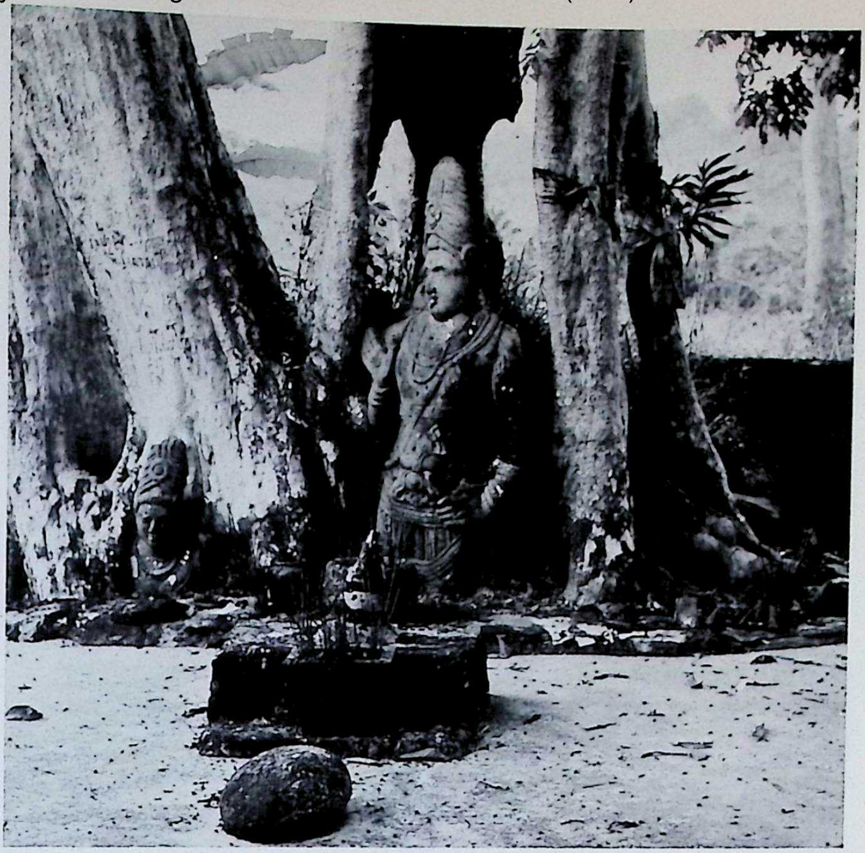


Fig. 28
'Pra Narâi' (Nārāyaṇa) Group.
Stone. Located on Takuapā River,
approximately 10 miles upstream
from the estuary.
Photograph: A. B. Griswold

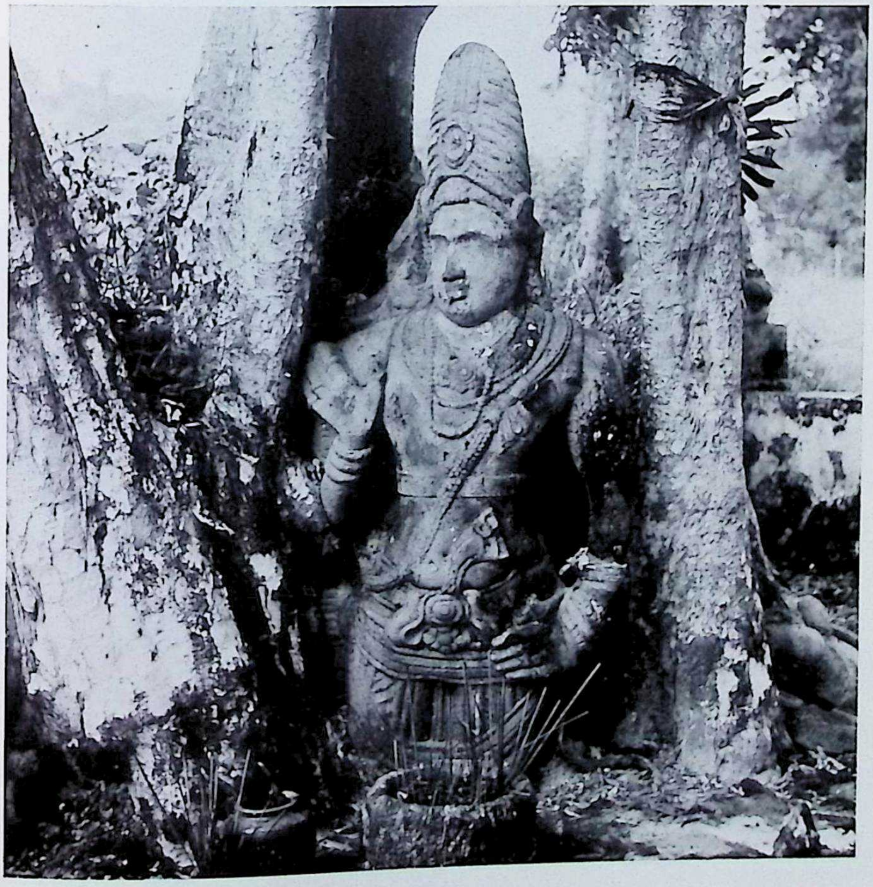


Fig. 29
Central Male Figure,
'Pra Narâi' Group, Takuapā.
Photograph: A. B. Griswold

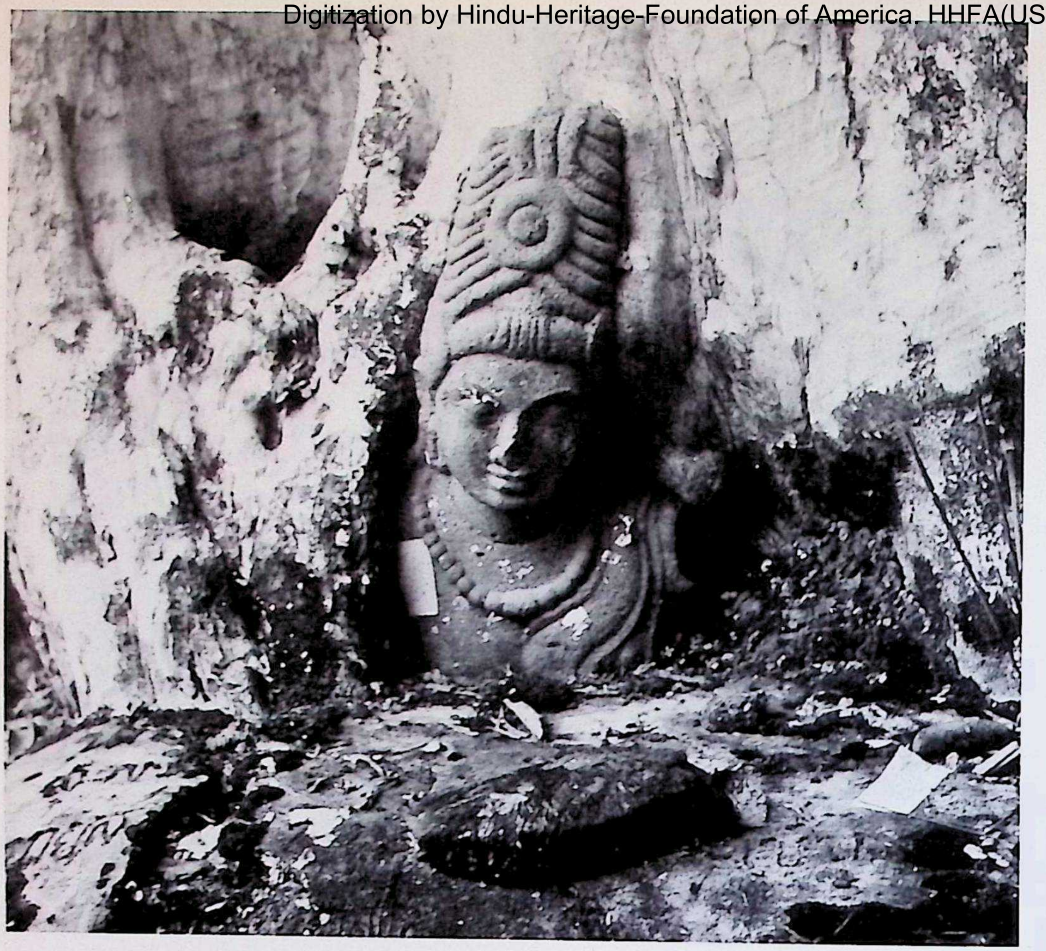


Fig. 30
Smaller Male Figure,
'Pra Narâi' Group, Takuapā.
Photograph: A. B. Griswold

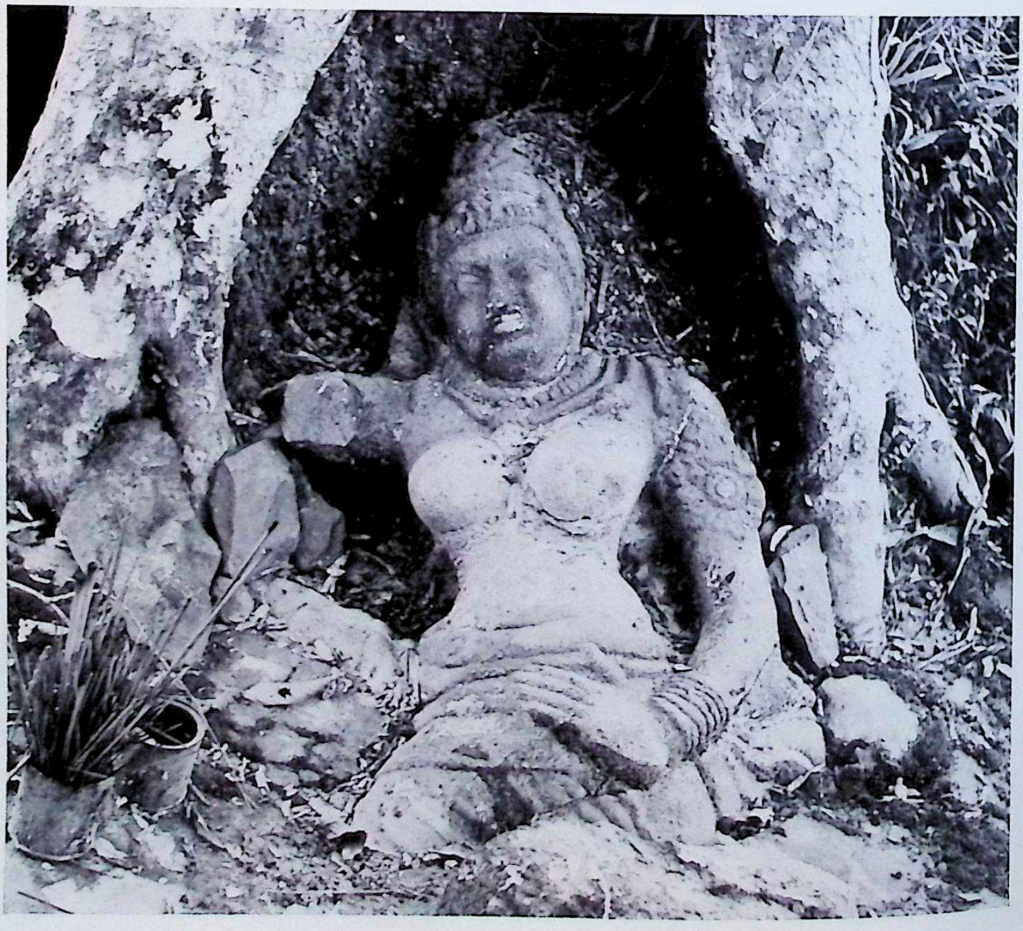


Fig. 31
Female Figure,
'Pra Narâi' Group, Takuapā.
Photograph: A. B. Griswold

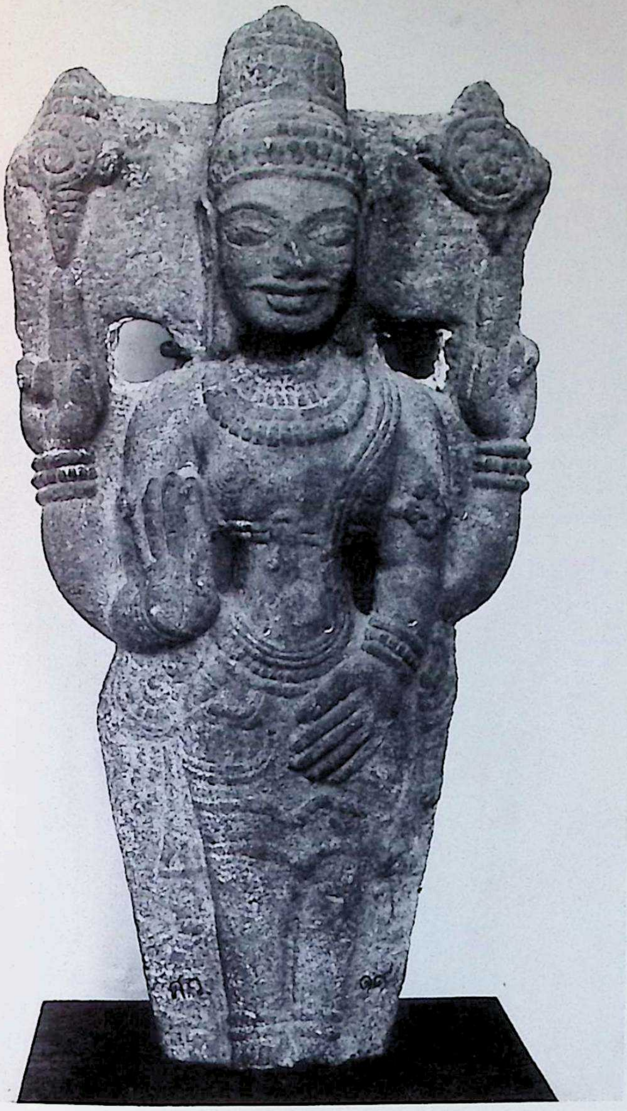


Fig. 32a Front

Fig. 32
Viṣṇu. Stone.
Found at Vieng Sra, Thailand.
Bangkok Museum.

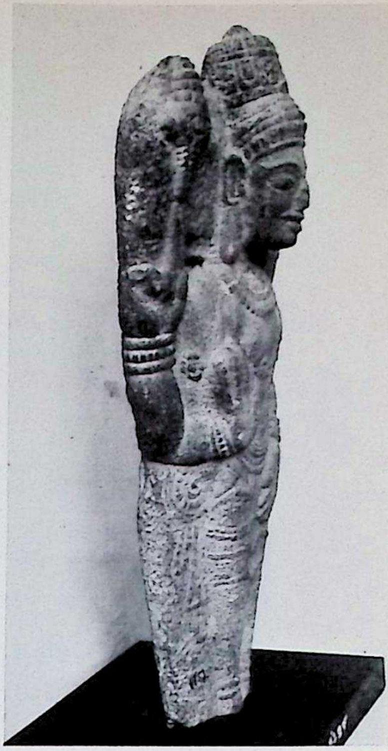


Fig. 32b Side

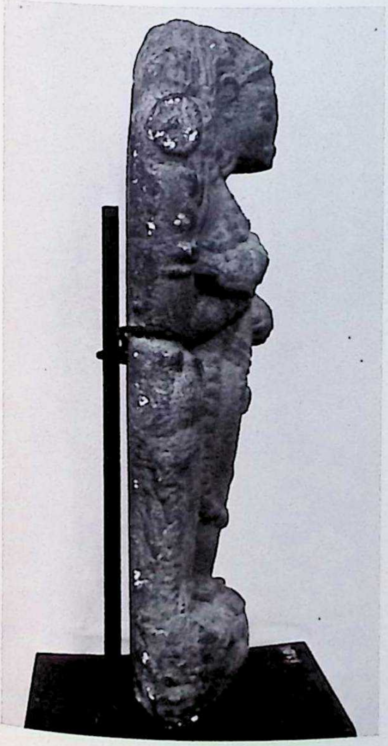


Fig. 33b Side

Fig. 33
Baṭuka-Bhairava.
Stone. Found at Vieng Sra.
Bangkok Museum.

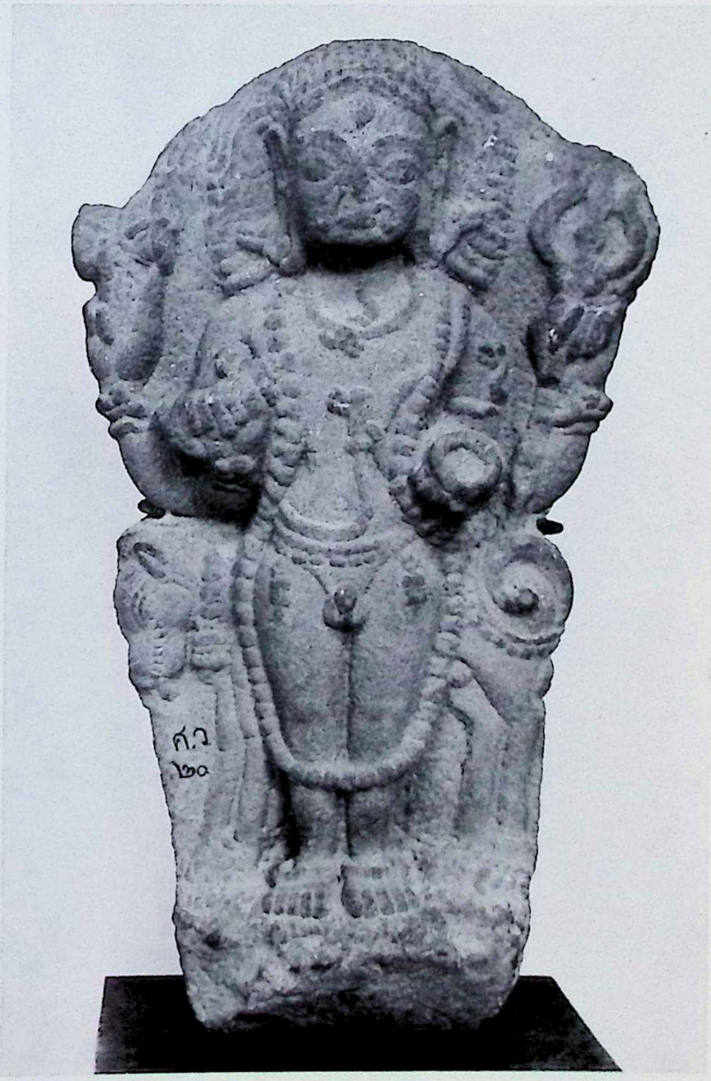


Fig. 33a Front

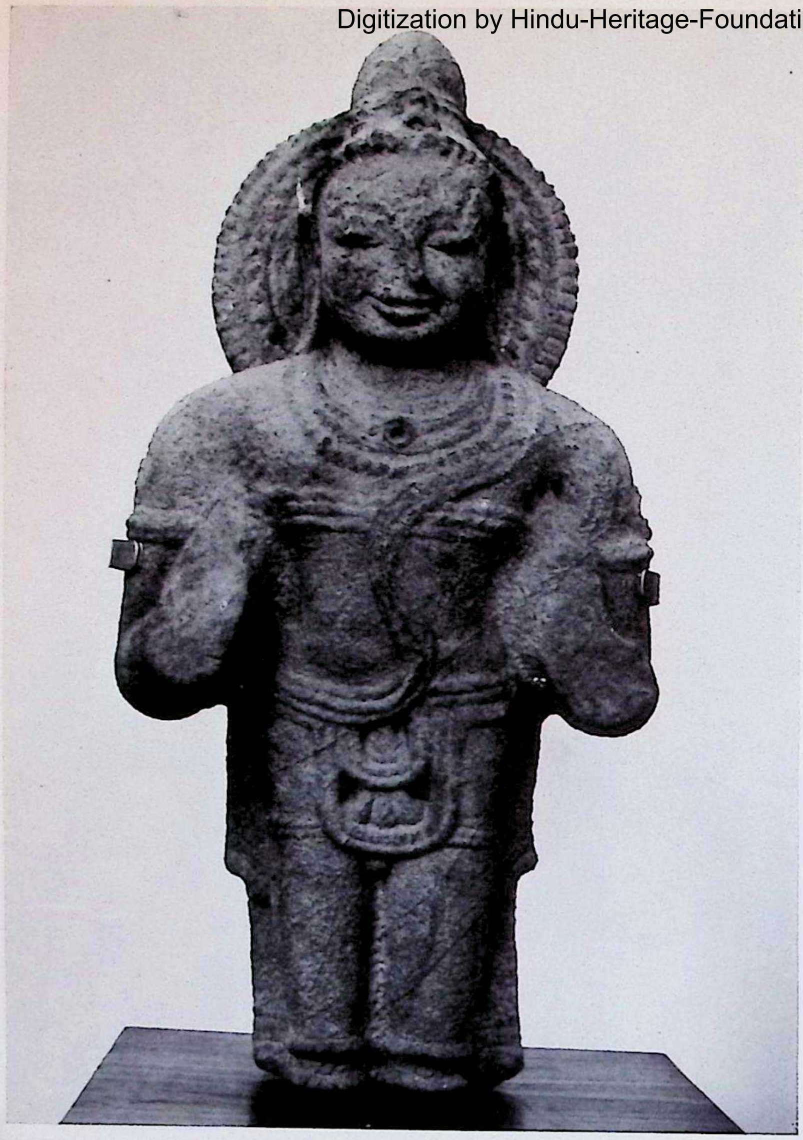


Fig. 34a Front

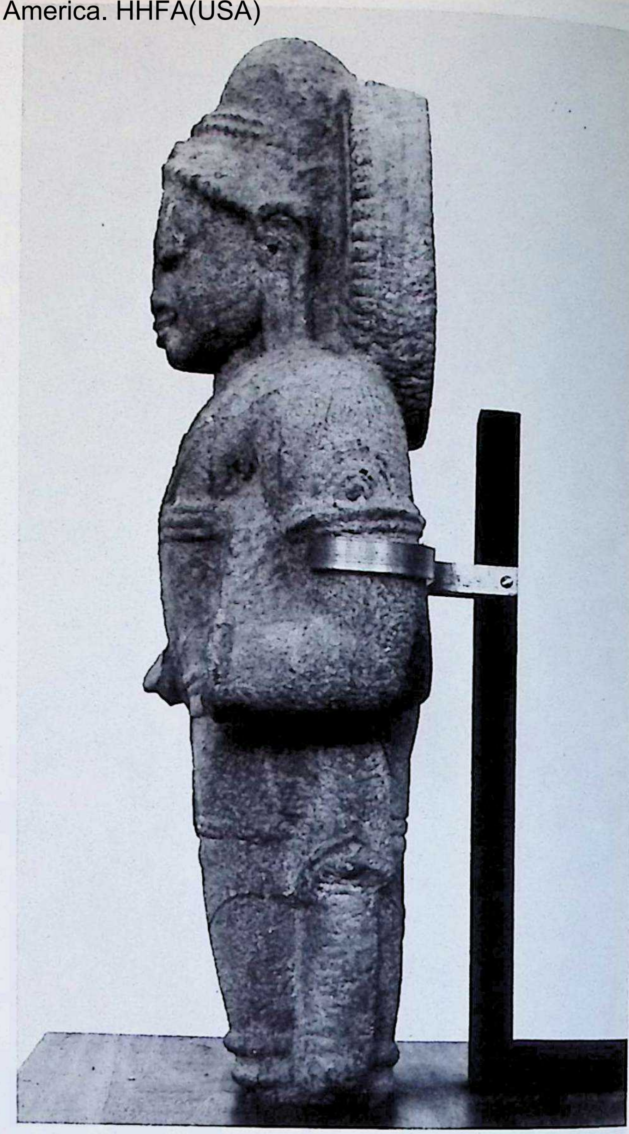


Fig. 34b Side

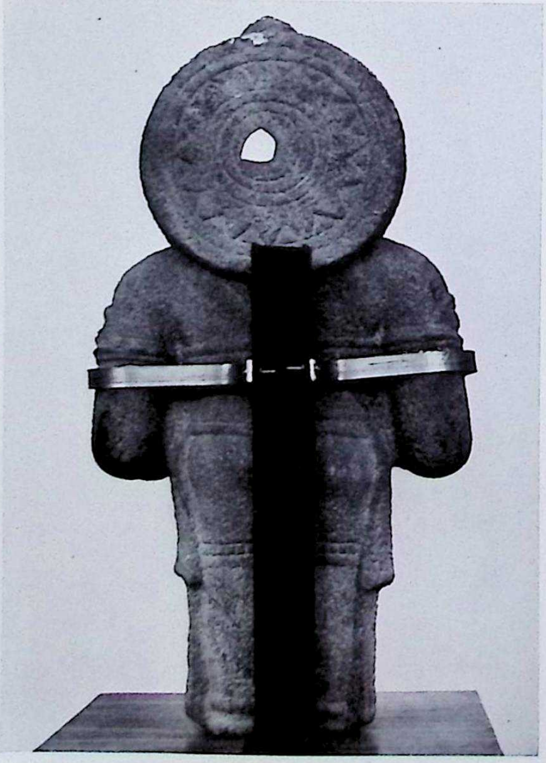


Fig. 34c Rear

Fig. 34
Sūrya. Stone. Found at Jaiyā.
Bangkok Museum

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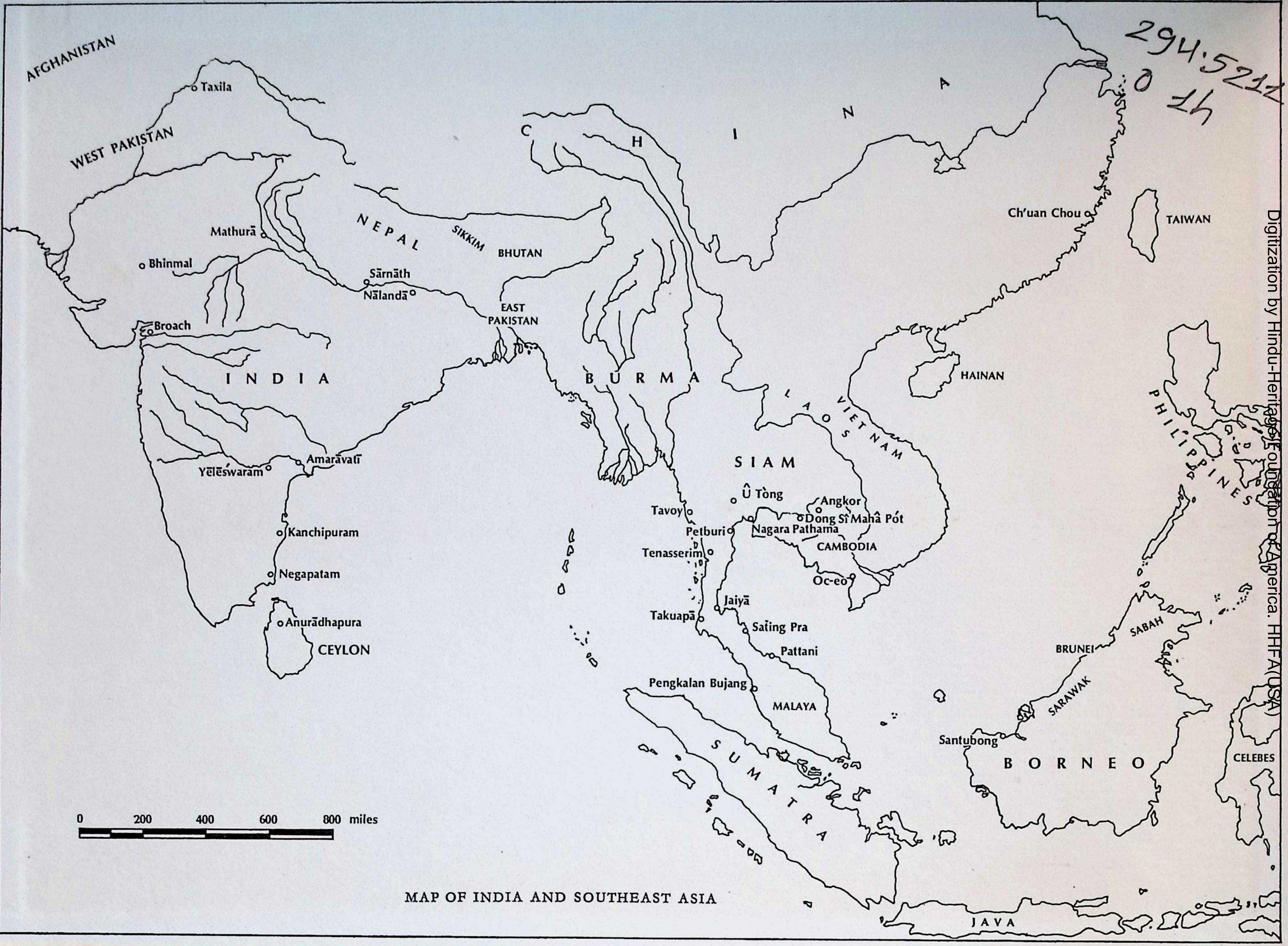
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Taxila
WEST PAKISTAN
Mathurā
Bhinmal
Broach
NEPAL
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
Sārnāth
Nālandā
EAST PAKISTAN
INDIA
Amarāvatī
Yelēśwaram
Kanchipuram
Negapatam
Anurādhapura
CEYLON
CHINA
BURMA
Ch'uan Chou
TAIWAN
HAINAN
LAOS
VIETNAM
SIAM
Û Tòng
Angkor
Dong Si Mahâ Pot
Nagara Pathama
CAMBODIA
Oc-eo
Tavoy
Petburi
Tenasserim
Jaiyā
Takuapā
Saîing Pra
Pattani
Pengkalan Bujang
MALAYA
SUMATRA
PHILIPPINES
SABAH
BRUNEI
SARAWAK
Santubong
BORNEO
CELEBES
JAVA
0
200
400
600
800 miles

MAP OF INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

HINDU GODS OF PENINSULAR SIAM

The sea-flanked strip of land that is now Peninsular Siam is impacted with the débris of history. Rich in valuable minerals, and strategically located across the sea lanes between India and China, it was the seat of several of the earliest city-states of Southeast Asia. Later on it was part of the Malay maritime empire of Śrīvijaya, and later still, in the 13th century, it entered the orbit of Siam.

While historical geographers have amassed a body of texts that show the vital role of the isthmus in early Asian trade, its art has received relatively little systematic study. In this book Professor O'Connor breaks new ground. After providing a general introduction to the art history of the isthmian tract, he discusses in detail a number of the most important statues of Hindu gods discovered there, several of which have not been published previously. By studying the stylistic development of this art, and comparing it with examples from India and Cambodia, he reaches new conclusions regarding its chronology and demonstrates the high level of cultural achievement of the ancient isthmian kingdoms.

Three isthmian statues of Viṣṇu, because of their analogies with images excavated in India in a 4th-century context, now appear to be the earliest surviving representations of the god in Southeast Asia. Sculpture in the service of the Hindu religions flourished on the isthmus from the 6th to the 8th century, and there is evidence of close artistic exchanges around the Gulf of Siam as well as with India. From the 9th century on, the bulk of patronage shifted to Mahāyāna Buddhism, which is thought to have been the State religion of Śrīvijaya. But statues of Hindu gods remained a feature of isthmian life until the 11th century and later. Some of them are so closely related to Cōḷa art that the author thinks they were either imported from South India or else produced by South Indian sculptors working in the isthmus.

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